

Premier hails Mubarak on 5th peace anniversary

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir yesterday sent warm greetings to Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak to mark the fifth anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty, which falls today.

In an interview on Israel Television's Arabic-language programme last night, Shamir said he had expressed the hope in his letter that peace between the two countries would grow in the year ahead and would eventually broaden to incorporate other Arab countries.

The premier described the treaty with Egypt as a cornerstone of future Middle East peace and wrote that he believes the two countries can overcome the problems which now hamper their relations.

Shamir's aides said the message was significant as a demonstrative gesture of friendship and goodwill, since it follows Shamir's harsh criticism of Egypt in the Knesset a fortnight ago. In that statement, Shamir accused Egypt of violating the spirit of the treaty, especially by failing to return its ambassador to Tel Aviv. The envoy has been in Cairo for "consultations" since August 1982.

The aides said the premier had "been informed" of the impending visit to Cairo of Labour Party foreign affairs spokesman MK Abba Eban, "at the invitation of senior government figures there. Eban is expected to meet with Mubarak."

Mubarak vows Egypt stands beside Sudan

KHARTOUM (AP). — President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt yesterday said his nation stands with Sudan, "with all its feelings and capabilities in all circumstances," against foreign threats.

Mubarak made a surprise visit to the Sudanese capital to demonstrate support for President Ja'afar Numeiri in the wake of the bombing raid early in the month on Khartoum that Sudan has blamed on Libya.

Egypt, which has a mutual defence pact and integration treaty with Sudan, has sent air defence equipment and technicians in the wake of the raid. They were ferried to Sudan in a U.S. air force plane.

Terrorist killed in assault on IDF

A terrorist was killed yesterday in an encounter with IDF troops south of the Zahrani River in South Lebanon, the army spokesman said. Small arms fire was directed from an ambush at an IDF patrol on the Lebanese coastal road some 5 km. south of the Zahrani. The attackers also threw a hand grenade. The patrol returned fire.

The body of one of the attackers, his personal weapon beside him, was discovered at the site of the ambush. There were no IDF casualties. Several other attackers managed to escape.

2.5 kilo of matzot will cost IS375

The retail price of a 2.5 kilogram package of matzot will be IS375 this year, the Industry and Trade Ministry has announced. A ministry spokesman said the subsidy on unleavened bread will amount to 40 per cent of the retail price. Matzot flour will retail for IS165 a kilogram. The rate of increase in the price of matzot compared with last year is the same as that of bread, the spokesman said. (Itim)



A police investigator yesterday inspects an Egged bus, which ran into a ditch on the ascent to Jerusalem about four kilometres from the capital. Fifteen of the passengers were injured, most of them slightly. The police announced last night that the driver had lost control of the vehicle, which had come from Tel Aviv. (Rahamin Israeli)

Druse to vacate Murabitun area; French start pullout

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Lebanese Druse Moslem leader Walid Jumblatt yesterday agreed to withdraw his militiamen from the streets of West Beirut, where last Friday they crushed the remnants of the Sunni Moslem Murabitun group.

Jumblatt announced the decision in Damascus and his Progressive Socialist Party reaffirmed it after his return to Beirut, opposition sources said.

The PSP militiamen will give way to the Lebanese internal security force and the army sixth brigade, which stayed on in West Beirut after the defeat of loyalist army units last month.

The decision affects only the populated areas of the city, not the semi-deserted front lines between the PSP and its Shi'ite Moslem allies in the west and the army and Christian forces in the east, the sources said.

The talks also concerned efforts to avoid a showdown once the

French troops have deserted their strategic positions along the demarcation lines in downtown Beirut.

French troops began withdrawing from Beirut yesterday. As a long line of French soldiers boarded the ferry boat L'Esterel in the morning, the rumble of rocket-propelled grenade and sniper fire echoed along the "green line" dividing the Lebanese capital into Moslem and Christian sectors.

On Saturday night, Syrian President Hafez Assad and Lebanese President Amin Jemayel discussed the just-ended Lebanese reconciliation talks in Switzerland in a telephone conversation, the Syrian news agency Sana reported.

In Damascus, Jumblatt, Shi'ite militia leader Nabih Berri and three Sunni Moslem politicians from Beirut met in the office of Vice-President Abdel-Halim Khaddam to discuss security in the Lebanese capital following the PSP-Murabitun fighting on Thursday and Friday.

I won't quit Knesset now, Begin says

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Herut politicians were mystified last night by the interview granted by former prime minister Menachem Begin to Kol Yisrael in which he denied any intention to resign soon from the Knesset.

This contradicted expectations in the party, which is under pressure because of Begin's missing Knesset vote at a time when the coalition majority in the House is down to a bare minimum. Party activists admitted last night that they simply did not know what to make of the statement or how to proceed now.

Begin, who was called by Kol Yisrael at his home, said that he "has not yet made any move towards resignation." He added that he does "not weigh such a step just now," but that when he does decide to resign, he will not keep it a secret and will make his move public.

In Herut, even insiders who in the past had been close to Begin did not know quite what to make of the statement. They did not know whether it indicates that Begin plans to hold onto his Knesset seat or that he only wishes to hold off for a while before resigning.

In the past, Begin has offered his mandate back to his party, but Herut refused his resignation and urged him to stay on, chiefly for sentimental and emotional reasons.

Such feelings continued to be expressed yesterday by Deputy Housing Minister Moshe Katsav, who appealed to Begin not to resign his Knesset seat. He expressed the hope, still powerful among Herut rank and file, that "Begin will return to the political arena, even if not as candidate for prime minister, then at least as a major participant in the campaigning. We need Begin and all sorely miss him," Katsav said.

"I wouldn't want Begin to leave political life at this stage," Katsav said. "Begin could help us, not only in the election campaign, but also in the management of internal party matters."

If Begin does not resign and continues to stay away from the Knesset, he will have his party in a real quandary. It is almost unthinkable in Herut that anyone will actually request that Begin return his mandate. But reversed as he is in the party, Herut does need the extras vote badly.

Shamir has solid grip on top spot in Likud

'Big two' may seek to oust small parties

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Reporter

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir appears almost certain to head the Likud list in the forthcoming elections as undisputed leader of Herut, reliable sources in the party said last night.

While Shamir yesterday denied that a deal had been worked out between himself and Deputy Premier David Levy under which Levy agreed not to challenge Shamir's leadership, it is understood that an informal understanding may have been achieved between the two.

Speaking at a closed caucus of Likud ministers after yesterday's cabinet meeting, Shamir denied that he had been promised the position of campaign manager in return for withholding such a challenge. Levy himself has said nothing openly about a challenge and is considered to be keeping his options open in case elections are put off.

A wider forum of Likud ministers will meet today at Shamir's office to try to decide on a date which the party can propose when the inter-party bargaining over election day begins in earnest.

While Shamir denied any formal deal with Levy, Herut sources noted that, since the early elections crisis began, the two have had several tete-a-tete meetings, after which each has spoken in exceedingly friendly, even flattering tones, of the other.

In an interview last night on Arabic-language television, Shamir said he hopes Herut will "not waste

much time and energy" on a leadership contest which would "prejudice the party's chances" in the election.

"But we are a democracy — all along the line," Shamir added philosophically. "We'll have to wait and see" whether there will be a contest.

Shamir confirmed that he would meet with Labour leaders very soon to "try to reach an agreed date... at least between the two major parties... That is the proper and healthy thing to do." The Likud, he said, has its reasons for wanting an autumn date. "But we will listen to what Labour has to say."

If elections are held in early summer, there is almost no expectation in Herut of a Levy showdown with Shamir. Any such move would seem like a bid to depose a serving prime minister and would be seen as very harmful for the party in the short run. Levy would be laying himself open to charges of sabotaging the Likud's electoral chances.

Even such firm members of the Levy camp as MK Michael Kleiner are now unsure of the wisdom of a further battle for the number one position in Herut.

Kleiner said yesterday that "the situation now would be very different from when Shamir and Levy vied for the party leadership after the resignation of Menachem Begin. At that time, both started out from relatively equal positions. Now Shamir is premier, and as such, he enjoys a natural advantage and should have the preference of party members."

"Our main concern must be to

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Labour holding top-three slot for Navon

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Labour Party secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev said yesterday that when former president Yitzhak Navon returns to politics, he will find his place assured in the first three slots on the Alignment's slate of candidates to the 11th Knesset.

Bar-Lev said in a Gali Zahal radio interview that he hopes his party will be spared battles for the leadership prior to the coming elections. Hopes that Navon will be worked into a troika and not seek the leadership himself are prevalent among supporters of Labour chairman Shimon Peres.

The Peres camp is now making strenuous efforts to avoid any challenge against his leadership, but cedes that much depends on the date of elections. If the Likud suc-

ceeds in putting off election day until autumn, the likelihood of a battle for the leadership increases sharply.

If elections are held soon, as Labour would like, then Peres would be immune from challenge, since not much time would be left for the sides to reorganize and to carry out internal battles without doing the party's chances at the polls grievous harm.

It is assumed for now that former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin will not make a serious challenge, unless elections are a long way off. But Rabin is keeping mum on the issue, and those close to him stress that he has not ruled out the possibility.

A recent caucus of Rabin supporters has even come out in favour of "a democratic process for choosing the party leader," a phrase which in Labour parlance means that the Rabin faction is reserving

the right of challenge.

While the Rabin camp has not explicitly ruled out the possibility of a showdown for the party's nomination for premier, the Peres side continues to speak of a united ticket, headed by a Peres-Navon-Rabin troika. Under such an arrangement, Rabin would most likely be offered the defence portfolio and there are many versions of what Peres would be willing to offer Navon.

One is that Navon would be made "minister of the Jewish People" in a new portfolio, hitherto untied by any government. Another version has it that Navon would be most happy as minister of education. Others in the Peres camp have already appointed Navon social affairs minister, while a very large school has it that he would replace Abba Eban as the Labour candidate

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

'NY Times' sticks by story on Arens remarks

By WOLF BLITZER

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau, the husband of New York Times reporter Lucinda Franks, has backed up her account yesterday in the newspaper of several controversial comments allegedly made about U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger by Defence Minister Moshe Arens. In a separate news story yesterday on the flap, Arens flatly denied the remarks about Weinberger: "I would have to be insane to say these

things, even if I thought them. And I don't think them."

Israeli officials said Arens had telephoned Weinberger to deny the disputed quotes in the story. Arens also issued a statement praising the U.S. defence chief, adding: "I have a great deal of respect for him and the way he does his job. There's been a great deal of improvement in Israeli-American relations, and Caspar Weinberger has played a crucial role in that improvement."

Arens also denied vigorously that he had offered to return disputed territory at Taba to Egypt if the

Egyptian defence minister would meet with him as reported in the story. "This was never my opinion, never my position. This is totally misconstrued," Arens said.

In the lengthy article by Pulitzer Prize-winning Franks, Arens was quoted as saying that Weinberger is "a prime candidate for psychoanalysis...you can hardly talk to him."

Both Franks and Edward Klein, editor of the Times magazine, said they stood by the Arens quotes. Franks said her notes confirmed them. There was no tape recording of the conversation.

Morgenthau, who had accompanied Franks on some of the interviews last December with Arens,

confirmed that he had heard the defence minister make the controversial statements about Weinberger.

"I heard him say it," he told the newspaper yesterday in the separate news story. "I was sitting in the back seat of the car with him. I was surprised that he said it. But he did say it, there's no doubt about that. Given how careful and cautious he is, you have to assume that he knew what he was doing. He never said anything about its being on background (off the record)."

The newspaper did acknowledge that another Arens quote — this one about opposition Labour leader Shimon Peres — had been inaccurate.

(Continued on Page 7)

Stocks in year's biggest gain

Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Shares soared on the stock exchange yesterday, with Lumir advancing 50 per cent — the largest single gain on the market this year.

Expectations that the government

will soften its economic policies prior to the elections pushed 14 securities up by 20 per cent or more and left 227 issues untraded because of the imbalance of orders.

Turnover exceeded IS2 billion, and there was a high demand for mutual fund units.

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	MIN	MAX	COND
AMSTERDAM	1 34	9 48	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	0 32	8 47	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	18 66	27 80	Clear
CHICAGO	4 25	10 50	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	0 32	3 37	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	4 29	10 50	Clear
GENEVA	3 27	14 37	Clear
HELSINKI	12 10	0 32	Cloudy
HONG KONG	17 62	18 34	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	12 54	18 31	Clear
LONDON	11 52	18 31	Clear
MADRID	5 41	8 46	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-6 21	1 34	Cloudy
NEW YORK	1 34	11 52	Cloudy
OSLO	7 19	11 30	Cloudy
PARIS	5 41	10 50	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	18 64	28 80	Clear
SAO PAULO	18 64	28 80	Clear
STOCKHOLM	11 12	3 37	Cloudy
TOKYO	3 27	14 37	Clear
VIENNA	-8 21	4 38	Cloudy
ZURICH	3 27	14 37	Clear

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, with scattered showers and thunderstorms

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	61	10-15	13
Golan	83	9-15	12
Nahariya	—	—	—
Safed	60	7-14	11
Tiberias	76	15-19	17
Thetis	89	14-23	23
Nazareth	69	11-17	15
Afula	63	12-20	18
Shomron	64	12-17	14
Tel Aviv	58	9-20	18
B-G Airport	58	14-20	18
Jenin	44	14-25	23
Gaza	71	14-19	18
Beer-Sheva	—	12-19	17
Eilat	56	16-23	21

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Australian Ambassador and Mrs. Robert Stuart Merrillees and Brazilian Ambassador and Mrs. Lauro Soutello Alves yesterday visited the Weizmann Institute of Science and were luncheon guests of the president of the institute and Mrs. Michael Sela.

The third Zionist seminar sponsored by Brit Rishonim on the heritage of Argentinean Jewry will be held today at 4.30 p.m. in the Bnei Zion auditorium at Beth Hatefutsoth. Former ambassador to Argentina Yitzhak Harkavy will speak, and a film will be shown. The public is invited to attend.

George Levin, founder and coordinator of the Hebrew University Forum, will be honoured on his retirement at 8 tonight at the Centre for Conservative Judaism, 2 Rehov Agon.

Dr. Moshe Sokol, associate dean, Touro-Technion Bio-Medical Programme, will speak on "Jewish Medical Ethics" on Wednesday, March 28, at 8 p.m. at the Israel Centre, 10 Rehov Straus, Jerusalem.

In Memoriam

On the 12th anniversary of the death of Ya'acov Herzog, scholarships in his memory will be awarded tomorrow at 4 p.m. at a ceremony at the Academy of Sciences hall on 438 Rehov Jabotinsky, Jerusalem. Prof. Yoram Dinstein, rector of Tel Aviv University, will deliver a lecture on "War Crimes." At 3.15 p.m., friends and members of the family will gather at Herzog's grave at the Sanhedriya cemetery.

Gas stations may close in protest this Thursday

TEL AVIV. — Gas stations throughout the country say they will close at 6 a.m. on Thursday for 23 hours in protest against restrictions on credit which began on April 1. The move was approved yesterday by the Association of Gas Stations.

Security services are accused of torturing detainees

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The League for Human and Civil Rights in Israel yesterday alleged that the Israel Defence Forces detention centre at Far'a in the West Bank is "a factory for extracting confessions" and that inmates, most of them minors, are subjected to torture, brutality and inhuman conditions to break them. Senior military sources dismissed the league's allegations as "nothing new." They stressed that detainees have full access to the courts and lawyers to submit complaints about maltreatment, and that if they feel that an incorrect confession has been extracted due to torture, its admissibility is discussed by the court.

At a press conference in Jerusalem, three members of the league's executive committee claimed that they have received evidence over the past few months from inmates indicating that torture is being used to extract confessions from detainees.

Advocate Felicia Langer, deputy chairman of the Rakah-affiliated league, said that most of the detainees are minors being held in connection with stone-throwing and other offences against public order. She said that she visited the camp four days ago and heard complaints about prolonged periods of inter-

HOME NEWS

Histadrut passes IS8.54b. budget

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut executive yesterday approved an IS8.54 billion budget for fiscal 1984. The budget was passed by majority vote, with the Likud faction opposing.

The 1984 budget shows an increase of 192 per cent over that of the previous year, without accounting for inflation. The largest source of revenue in the budget is the IS7.89b. to be collected from Histadrut membership dues. The government's contribution to the Histadrut's community activities will be IS4.5m., or 0.05 per cent of the total budgets.

The Histadrut's income from membership dues represents only 23.34 per cent of the anticipated total. The bulk of membership dues revenue, 67.1 per cent, is slated for

the financing of Kupat Holim, the Histadrut health fund.

In presenting the budget, Histadrut treasurer Nathan Almosino attacked the government for reducing its level of participation in Kupat Holim financing. There was once an agreement, he said, that the health fund would be funded equally from three sources: membership dues, employer contributions, and government financing. In 1983, however, government financing dropped to 12.5 per cent — despite the fact that Kupat Holim serves some 80 per cent of the population.

Almosino also took the government to task for its limited contribution to the Histadrut's community activities.

Almosino said that the financial assumptions underlying the budget were: to complete the fiscal year

without going into deficit (the 1983 budget showed a small surplus); to draw up an order of priorities regarding income, expenses and objectives; and to ensure that rises in membership dues remain less than the rise in the Consumer Price Index.

The objectives of the 1984 budget are to provide sufficient funds and resources to finance the wide range of Histadrut activities. These include the guarding of workers' interests, professional training, the unionization of work places and the sponsoring of sports and other activities for youth and pensioners.

The Likud's Daniel Nahmani attacked the proposed budget as an "election budget." The money budgeted for sport, cultural and educational activities is intended to attract votes for the Labour Party in the Knesset elections, Nahmani intimated.

Law Committee meets tomorrow on elections

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

The Knesset Law Committee meets tomorrow to study the early election bills which the Knesset narrowly approved on preliminary reading in last Thursday's dramatic marathon session.

Although there is virtually no prospect of the law committee preparing the election bills for return to the plenum for regular first reading this week, and no time anyway to debate them again in the plenum, parliamentary sources do not doubt that the bills will manage to go through all the statutory stages before the end of the Pessah recess.

Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor is known to want the law committee to sit as often as needed during the recess, and since more than one-third of the committee shares his interest in getting the legislation processed, there are no obstacles in the way of the law com-

mittee convening. The speaker is most unlikely to extend the present winter session for another week, since this is in any case not necessary.

Law committee chairman Eliezer Kolas has already started intensive contacts with all factions to fix an agreed election date, but such agreement may not be forthcoming until next week, because of the cumbersome consultative process in different factions.

Savidor has let it be known that he will brook no delays, and he expects to be able to summon the Knesset into special session during the Pessah recess, a couple of days after the festival ends, and get the legislation through all three regular readings in one single sitting day.

As long as the two main factions, Likud and Alignment, can get together on a date, the small factions will be powerless to offer resistance. With the Alignment

originally suggesting May and the Likud November, the prospects of a compromise date in the first half of September are good at this juncture.

While the House rules do not permit a special session during the recess to discuss private bills at the request of MKs only, such private bills can be debated and passed into law if the government calls the house into session.

A possibility still exists that the government will submit an early election bill of its own, stipulating a date on which it knows it can win a majority, with opposition support.

Treasury to seek cut in bonds purchase tax

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Treasury has decided to reduce the 2 per cent levy on the sale of bonds to 1 per cent. The Ministry will present a proposal to this effect at the Knesset Finance Committee meeting this week.

The levy was introduced in 1982 as one of the steps taken to finance the war in Lebanon.

Two months ago, the Ministerial Economic Committee decided to empower the Treasury to reduce the levy on the sale of government-linked bonds and shares. But the Treasury decided to reduce the levy only on the sale of bonds.

Treasury officials explained yesterday that the step was taken as a means of encouraging the public to buy bonds. A new issue of government bonds is due shortly.

Sixth suspect remanded in Temple Mount case

Another suspect yesterday was remanded in connection with the abortive attempt to sabotage the Temple Mount in January. Yitzhak Eidan, 29, of Netanya is the sixth suspect now held in the case.

Jerusalem District Court Judge Aharon Simcha ordered Eidan held after a police representative told the court he is suspected of serving as a lookout during the attempt. (Itim)

Kollek may run for Knesset alone or with another party

By MICHAEL EILAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek may run for the Knesset in the coming elections, but has not yet decided whether he would run with another party or alone, a close aide said yesterday.

"He might not run at all," the aide said last night. Kollek's supporters are sure that were he to lead an independent list, he could win a few Knesset seats, but the mayor does not want the Likud to benefit from any "dent" he may make in the Labour electorate.

In municipal elections, Kollek has proven time and again that he can pick up votes from hard-core Likud supporters. Another possibility is to run with Labour.

The Kollek aide last night denied rumours that Kollek is planning to run on a list with former president Yitzhak Navon. He also denied a report that Kollek's current trip abroad is intended to raise money for the elections.

Municipal spokesman Rafi Davara said last night that Kollek's trip to the U.S. was organized two months ago. He said the mayor is due to open a new Jewish federation building in San Francisco today. He will be back in the country on Friday.

There are three main reasons which prompted Kollek to consider running in the elections. The first is his sense of general loss of trust among the public for elected leaders. The mayor has recently been making statements on many national issues such as Jewish terrorism, about which he felt there was no adequate official response.

The second issue is representation for the cities on major urban issues. Kollek feels that while most of the country's population lives in cities, its needs and problems are neglected.

The third issue is Jerusalem, which Kollek also feels needs a higher priority in the national scheme of affairs.

Sharon libel suit puts gov't on spot

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The government would probably be prepared to allow prestigious independent figures in Israel, approved by Time magazine, to read the classified part of the Kahane Commission report on Sabra and Shatilla and give evidence on the basis of what they had read.

This was indicated by government sources here yesterday following an embarrassing episode in which former defence minister Ariel Sharon's request for the release of the classified section was leaked to Israel Radio. Sharon remonstrated bitterly over the leak at the cabinet meeting yesterday.

Sharon, now minister without portfolio, is suing the American weekly for libel over its assertion

that he encouraged the Phalangists, on the eve of their entry into the refugee camps, to avenge the murder of their leader, president-elect Bashir Jemayel. Time claimed that this was borne out in the secret part of the Kahane report.

Sharon has reportedly asked that this and other pertinent documents be disclosed to the court in New York to buttress his flat denial that he ever spoke in such a way.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said last night that the government had asked the opinions of various agencies and ministries before deciding how to respond to Sharon's request.

There was grave embarrassment over the leak of Sharon's request,

because its refusal now — if it is refused on genuine grounds of security and national interest — will be interpreted as Israel's "hiding" something prejudicial to Sharon, to the government as a whole or to both.

It is apparently for this reason that government sources were suggesting unofficially yesterday that a solution might be for Time to nominate one or several Israeli citizens whose impartiality and veracity it trusts — and these persons, assuming they had security clearance, would be enabled to study the relevant documents and give evidence about them. The sources said any initiative in this direction ought to come from the lawyers involved in the case.



A 1 1/2-year-old kangaroo enjoys a pita after stealing it from a rooster at Jerusalem's Biblical Zoo yesterday. (Scoop 80)

Price increase refusals called 'election economics'

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Public Prices Commission, a body within the Industry and Trade Ministry, refused to approve 18 of 20 requests for price increases submitted by industrialists, the Manufacturers Association said yesterday. It added that such a large number of non-approved requests was a sign of "external considerations," a reference to the coming elections.

The Commission's actions were widely interpreted by economic observers as yet another sign of "election economics." But the Treasury insisted yesterday that it will continue with its present prices

policy, which is based on hikes at least as high as the rate of inflation. It added that it has nothing to do with the actions taken by the prices commission.

The Treasury hopes that the government's budget will not be a victim of the current Knesset struggle about an election date. The Knesset Finance Committee is due to approve the budget items this week. Only after this will the budget be presented in the plenum for second and third readings. But several opposition MK's have declared that they may block the budget legislation if the coalition tries to stall the election initiative in the Law Committee.

Geula Cohen's 'Herut gambit' causes turmoil in Tehiya

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Tehiya MK Geula Cohen has created turmoil in her party by suggesting that it should not rule out an alignment with Herut.

She spoke at a meeting of the Tehiya executive on preparations for the upcoming elections. Her statement has started alarm bells ringing in the party. There had been suspicion that she might be eyeing Herut once more, and her statement yesterday seemed to confirm them.

Worries over Cohen's intentions increased after the resignations from the party of Hanan Porat, who returned to his original political home — the NRP. The fear in Tehiya is that Cohen might do likewise. It is noted that her son Tzahi Hanegbi has already found his way back to Herut.

Cohen is not the only Tehiya member thinking about some sort of tie with Herut. As most party activists readily admit, Tehiya's major

problem in the current campaign is that it lacks the cause that it had in 1981 when the evacuation of Sinai and the dismantling of settlements were imminent.

Also gone from the Herut helm is Menachem Begin, with what the Tehiya sees as the stigma of the Camp David agreement with Egypt. Apart from Deputy Premier David Levy, the Herut leadership is now composed of hawks, none of whom voted for the Camp David Agreement. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orag.

These factors may prove very tough competition for Tehiya, even though its line is likely to be that it can be especially relied on to bolster Judea and Samaria settlements and prevent their dismantlement.

A delegation of Yamit evacuees planned this week to visit former chief of staff Rafael Eitan, to try to persuade him to stand with Tehiya and other nationalist factions in the coming elections.

Shamir: Calls to move U.S. Embassy 'important'

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said last night that there is great political importance to calls by the U.S. Congress and several prospective Democratic presidential candidates to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Interviewed on Israel Television's Arabic-language programme, Shamir said the calls to move the embassy to Jerusalem are "an ex-

pression of the recognition of our capital."

Even if such calls do not result in the moving of the embassy, Shamir said, "There is great importance in the very putting of the subject before the public and the administration." However, he added, "We know from experience that one must add the reservation that they have been made during an election campaign."

BIG TWO

(Continued from Page One)

ity government a prerequisite for his support of the opposition's early election legislation in the house last week.

All that Labour was willing to openly speak of is the need for a "broadly based government."

Thus a more viable alternative than a national unity government appears to be the higher entry threshold.

Among the lists which might be running in this year's elections are the new Ezer Weizman party, possibly former chief of staff Raphael Eitan's Tzomet, the Sephardi ultra-orthodox Shas, Arye Eliav's list, a possible new party under Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, a religious women's list and perhaps as many as three splinters of the National Religious Party.

Youth Aliya jubilee

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The 50th anniversary of the founding of Youth Aliya was celebrated here yesterday at a special meeting of the Histadrut central committee. The session was the first in a series of events to mark the organization's anniversary.

Armed robbers steal 3 trucks at Dead Sea

BEERSHEBA (Itim). — Three new Mercedes trucks were stolen at gunpoint on Saturday night from a construction site at Neveh Zohar at the southern end of the Dead Sea. One was later found abandoned near the site, but the other two are still missing.

At about 8 p.m., five men arrived at the site, one of them armed with an M-16 assault rifle. They overpowered the watchman, striking him in the head with the rifle butt, then tied him up and blindfolded him.

Several hours after the thieves drove away in three trucks, the watchman managed to free himself. He hiked some five kilometres to the military checkpoint at Zohar junction and reported the robbery.

EDUCATION MEET.

— An education summit conference, to be attended by heads of educational institutions in Israel and the U.S. is to take place in Washington at the end of May.

Aulcie Perry becomes a soldier

Post Sports Staff

Elisha Avraham Perry, otherwise known as Aulcie Perry the Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball star, reported yesterday at an induction centre for soldiers entering the Israel Defence Forces. "Elisha Avraham" was the name he took when he converted, although all his official papers referred to him simply as "Aulcie."

It is not clear where and when he will commence service, but he is available for tonight's final game against Hapoel Ramat Gan. He was accompanied by Maccabi officials to ensure that he would go through the centre in record time.

The IDF is said to have copied remarkably well with the unusual problems of finding a uniform to fit him.

NAVON

(Continued from Page One)

for foreign minister. Navon is still on a tour of the U.S. but he has been in close touch with Labour politicians here. Some of those close to him who have worked for the past few years to have him replace Peres as party leader have urged him to return as soon as possible.

It is not expected in Labour that Navon will actually challenge Peres. He has explained in the past to party activists that he would not like to do Peres any political damage. In addition, he has let it be known that he would take over the leadership only if the other candidates yielded it voluntarily.

But here, too, the situation largely depends on the election date. If it is put off until autumn and if Rabin does challenge Peres, Navon may well try to take over.

Meanwhile, the moshav movement yesterday became the first group in the Labour Party to officially come out with a position on the party unity issue. It urged all would-be contenders to cooperate in one cohesive team and to prevent rifts which may work against the party at the polls.

SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

unite our forces against the Alignment and not to fight each other," he said.

One challenge to Shamir already declared is that of Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon, but his bid is not taken seriously — provided Shamir and Levy do not battle each other. If they pool their forces against Sharon, he will stand no chance, and might even withdraw his challenge if promised an executive cabinet post if the Likud wins the elections.

Elections any time before mid-July would prevent an internal showdown in Herut, it is said. By elections as late as November, Shamir's preferred date, would make a showdown more likely. Opinions in Herut differ in regard to September date, named by some as a likely compromise.

Levy is on record as supporting an early election date as possible, in opinion to which Defence Minister Moshe Arens also subscribes.

Shamir, in whose interest early elections would appear to be, has adopted the line of Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orag in favour of autumn elections.

Shamir said last night at the inaugural meeting of the Public Committee to Establish an IZL Museum: "We must still protect Eretz Yisrael, settle it and fill it with Jews, to ensure that Eretz Yisrael or even any part of it will not be abandoned to the enemies who wait for us to lose heart."

Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon said yesterday evening that he intends to compete in the Herut Central Committee for one of the three top jobs — prime minister, defence minister or foreign minister.

Sharon, who was received with chanting of "Arik, king of Israel," when he appeared in Tel Aviv's Kerem Yemenuel quarter, said he prefers an open contest inside the movement, and that he cannot accept the idea that the positions are picked by an appointments committee. He said that if he is not chosen to one of the three positions, he will not form an independent list, but will still run as a Likud candidate.

Sharon said that whoever gets the most votes should be prime minister, the runner up should be foreign minister, and the third place finisher defence minister.

He added that certainly one should try to change U.S. policy regarding Jerusalem, but there should be no personal attacks made against the U.S. president, the secretary of state or secretary of defence.

VISIT CANCELLED. — The U.S. aircraft carrier USS John F. Kennedy, which was to have started visit in Haifa today, will not be coming "for operational reasons."

At the conclusion of the shloshim

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Police say 5 suspects confessed to murder of Danny Katz

ACRE (Itim). — Five suspects have been arrested in the murder of Danny Katz, a 15-year-old schoolboy, in the northern police district of Acre, Yitzhak Eran announced at a press conference here yesterday.

The suspects — three Arab villagers and two Beduin, all men — have made full confessions and have participated in a complete re-enactment of the crime, Eran said. But, he continued, the investigation is not yet complete, and other suspects may be arrested.

The suspects, who were remanded last week, were identified as Samir Janama, 27, Mohammed Janama, 19, and Ali Ghannim, 20, from the Western Galilee village of Sakhnin; and Ahmed Kilzani, 29, and Araf Sabihi, 26, from the Beduin village in Wadi al-Ain, near Tirat Carmel.

Danny Katz, 15, disappeared on the night of December 12 on his way from his home in Haifa's Danya quarter to a sports lesson at Haifa University. When he failed to return home, his parents notified the police, and a

large manhunt was mounted. Police, Border Police and Civil Guard units, assisted by hundreds of volunteers, combed the area without success for three days.

On the third day after his disappearance, Katz's naked body was found by a shepherd in a cave near Moshav Ya'ad in Lower Galilee. The body showed signs of violence and possible sexual molestation.

The police investigation team began with 13 officers, and was later expanded to 30. Over 500 people were questioned, and 34 of them were remanded for different periods. Several of the five prime suspects had been among those held and released, both because of insufficient evidence at the time and because police wished to follow them.

All five suspects worked in the Danya neighbourhood where Katz lived, two of them in a local supermarket and the other three were labourers at a nearby construction site. The in-

vestigation found that Katz's body had been transported in the supermarket's pickup truck. One of the suspects was employed by the supermarket as a driver for food deliveries.

Nitzav Eran and Galilee sub-district commander Nitzav-Mishne Meir Sadeh thanked the investigating team and announced that it would receive a special award.

In Sakhnin yesterday, villagers condemned the crime but cautioned against blaming the entire village "for three who sinned." Deputy local council head Hassan Badran said, "This is a murder like any other murder of Jews and Arabs, and it must be condemned. The act is not representative of Sakhnin."

Sakhnin residents vehemently denied the possibility that the murder was committed against a nationalist or anti-Jewish background. Police have neither confirmed nor denied persistent rumours that the crime was motivated by hostility to the state.

Emunah will demand woman among top 5 on NRP slate

By LEA LEVAVI and JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporters

TEL AVIV. — Emunah, the national religious women's movement, will demand that a woman be among the first five on the National Religious Party's list in the coming elections, former MK Sarah Stern-Katan told a press conference here yesterday.

Emunah's 50th anniversary convention opens today at Binyanei Haim in Jerusalem, and the women's political demands will be among the topics discussed by the 200 delegates from Israel and abroad representing the organization's 70,000 members.

It is true that they gave me the

number eight spot in the last elections instead of the number 11 spot in which I was elected to the Ninth Knesset," Stern-Katan said. "But since we represent 50 per cent of the NRP's membership, one woman in eighth place is not the representation we deserve."

She added that Emunah wants to do everything possible toward unification of the national religious camp.

It is anticipated that Stern-Katan will be elected national chairwoman of the organization, replacing Tova Sanhedrai who has held the post for the last 30 years and is now retiring. Sanhedrai said she is very proud of what Emunah has accomplished in religious education and social services, including day nurseries serv-

ing more than 10,000 children, youth villages for children whose families cannot care for them, vocational high schools and colleges and services for women and families.

Lydia Zohar, representing Emunah's youth division, said the organization's younger members are particularly concerned about improving relations between the religious and secular communities.

"The media portray the religious community as people who throw stones on the Sabbath and hold demonstrations. That is not our way. We educate our children to serve in Israel Defence Forces combat units, and we always were able to coexist peacefully with the secular community. Agudat Yisrael

cannot meet this need — only the NRP, as a Zionist religious movement, can."

President Chaim Herzog, the chief rabbi and officials of Mizrahi and the Jewish Agency will be the guests of honour at the convention, which will include a parade of children bearing flags.

Tomorrow, the gathering moves to Hechal Shlomo and Ben Meir for two days of deliberations on "The National Religious Woman and Her Involvement in Israeli Society Today and Tomorrow."

Former deputy foreign minister MK Yehuda Ben-Meir (NRP) will lecture on Israel's foreign policy, and Yitzhak Meir of the World Zionist Organization will talk about Jewish education in the Diaspora.

TA's Assuta Hospital to fight closure threat

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Assuta Hospital in Tel Aviv will apply to the courts next week if the Health Ministry makes good its threat to close the hospital on Sunday.

Dr. Benjamin Frishman, director of Assuta, said yesterday that there is no valid reason for the ministry to close the operating and delivery rooms at Assuta. He said he will ask the court to call on Health Minister Eliezer Shostak to show cause why the hospital should be closed and gave that the requirements laid down by the ministry are not discriminatory.

The Health Ministry is demanding that duty anesthetologists, the pediatricians and blood bank technicians sleep at

the hospital. At present, the senior personnel are at home on call, and are summoned when needed. All live near the hospital, and in addition to telephones, all have "beepers."

Frishman pointed out that when necessary, these staff are at the hospital within minutes, something not always the case in large hospitals even if the personnel are in the building, since they are often busy elsewhere.

But the Health Ministry rejects these arguments and says that they must be present at all hours.

Frishman said that the hospital, primarily an obstetric and gynecological hospital, delivers about 150 babies a month, usually one to three by Caesarian section, which requires the services of the

specialists.

Frishman added that Assuta's system seems to work, since although two of Israel's major hospitals have had serious anesthetic accidents in the past two months, Assuta's record is clean. Health Ministry officials confirmed this statement.

Frishman contended that the ill will of the ministry was evidenced by the fact that the letter from Prof. Moshe Mashiah warning Assuta of closure was given to a journalist who published it in the Hebrew press before Frishman even received it.

Yitzhak Shomron of the Health Ministry said yesterday that the matter of the "leak" of this information is being investigated. He termed the entire matter a "mishap."

Druse to be allowed to return from Syria

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Druse university students from Golan villages who went to Damascus before the Golan was annexed in 1967 are to be permitted by Israeli authorities to return home. It is not known how many will take advantage of the offer to make the trip through Cyprus.

Also, the wives and children of several Druse men from the villages of Massada and Ein Kinya who crossed the border to Syria some years ago are to be allowed to join them there.

Herzog rejects Adiv request for pardon

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Chaim Herzog yesterday rejected a pardon request by Udi Adiv, a member of an Arab-Jewish spy ring convicted in 1973 of passing information likely to aid the enemy during visits to Syria and Greece.

In an announcement from Beit Hanassi, it was stated that Herzog reached his decision after much serious deliberation, and despite dozens of appeals by public figures and others to grant the pardon.

Herzog was swayed by the recommendation of Justice Minister Moshe Nissim to reject the pardon request. "In light of the essence and seriousness of the crime, there is no justification to grant a pardon to

Adviser request for pardon

reduce the punishment set by the court," the statement from Beit Hanassi said.

Adiv still has a chance of leaving prison early if a committee of the Prisons Service grants him one-third off for good behaviour. On April 1, Adiv will have served 11 years in prison — almost two-thirds of his 17-year sentence.

Herzog has gone on record in favour of the Prisons Service granting Adiv a furlough to get married. But although that request has finally been granted, no wedding plans have been announced.

The president met Adiv at Ramle Prison in December during a visit made to express the public's anxiety at the growing rate of crime in the country.

TA to honour 14 distinguished citizens

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Fourteen new distinguished citizens of Tel Aviv, nominated by a municipal committee, were announced yesterday. They are a varied group of scientists, actors, social workers and former city elders and municipal employees.

Prof. Heinrich Mendelsohn (awarded the Israel Prize in 1973), who initiated the founding of the natural science faculty at the Tel Aviv University.

Sa'adia Kovshi, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He has lived in Tel Aviv since 1935, teaching in schools with predominantly Yemenite pupils.

Rachel Marcus, actress, the

widow of the poet Natan Alterman.

Moshe Churgal, an actor who became famous on the stage of *Matateh*, and has lived in Tel Aviv since 1925.

Judge Yitzhak Oron, former president of the Tel Aviv Municipal Court.

Eli Ya'acov Alroy, a pioneer in Israeli aviation, who also initiated the Society for the Prevention of Accidents.

Yehuda Baikal, who founded the first kindergarten for Yemenite children.

Nahum Ya'acobi, a veteran employee of the education department of the Tel Aviv municipality.

Dr. Ruth Pelled, the daughter of Zionist pioneer Arthur Ruppin, a physician who devoted most of her

life to helping inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods.

Avi Levin, a printer who also developed synagogue music, and a former president of the Freemasons in Israel.

Azriel Broshi, who took part in the defence of Tel Aviv in 1921, known to a generation in the city as a leader of hikes to learn about Israel's geography and people.

Yerushalaim Segal, a soldier in the Jewish battalions in the First World War, who became known as the foremost translator into Hebrew of subtitles of films of the silent era.

Rabbi Y.M. Abrahamowitz, who represented Agudat Yisrael on the Tel Aviv municipal council.

Haim Yankelievich, who was a municipal councillor for three terms.

Platelet seminar opens at Weizmann Institute

Jerusalem Post Staff

Recent advances in clarifying the function of platelets — minuscule cells that stem blood loss by initiating blood clotting following injury — are being discussed at a six-day seminar which opened yesterday at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot.

Besides desirable aspects, the aggregation of platelets is also responsible for the often fatal embolisms that cause coronaries and strokes. Thus there is wide interest in delineating platelet operation.

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thereby providing researchers with necessary information for designing new ways to prevent formation of these dangerous clots in the blood system.

About 50 leading researchers have gathered in Israel from Western Europe, North America, and South Africa, and are being joined by about 20 of their Israeli colleagues for an exchange of information on work in progress in their respective laboratories.

The seminar, entitled The Role of Platelets in Hemostasis and Thrombosis, will hear reports by 24 invited lecturers, as well as 32 shorter presentations dealing with the function, response, and physiology of platelets and their interaction with various drugs. Certain diseases that affect these specialized blood cells will also be discussed.

4 tourists killed in Sinai bus-tractor crash

EILAT (Itim). — Four foreign tourists were killed and 10 others hurt — seven seriously — when an Egyptian bus collided with a tractor on the Dahab-Santa Katerina road on Saturday afternoon.

The tourists were on a visit to Eilat and had sought to reach the Santa Katerina Monastery.

Soldier-teachers to aid pupils with reading

The Education Ministry and the IDF have decided to allocate 100 women soldier-teachers to help schoolchildren with reading difficulties.

The ministry's Zevulun Orlev said the soldier-teachers will begin work at the start of the forthcoming academic year.

Businesses urge economic slowdown

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce yesterday presented Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Oran with a plan calling for a "gradual slowing down of the economy."

The six-point plan, presented by federation chairman Avner Ben-Yakar, would entail cooperation between the government, the Histadrut and the Coordinating Committee of Economic Organizations.

Rather than advocating an economic freeze, the plan calls for limitations on price rises, drastic budget cuts and a more realistic shekel devaluation policy.

Ben-Yakar told Cohen-Oran that only a "national economic consensus" could get the country on

an even economic keel. The minister pointed out in reply that however desirable the scheme, the Histadrut is not willing to enter into any kind of package deal.

The six steps in the plan should be taken simultaneously, Ben-Yakar said at the meeting, which took place at the federation's Tel Aviv office in the presence of Deputy Finance Minister Haim Kaufman.

Prices should be allowed to rise by only 4 per cent a month for two months, then by 2 per cent for the next three months, the business owners advised. There should then be a complete price freeze for three months.

The present wage policy should be maintained, and cost-of-living allowances paid every three months. A committee, whose decisions

would have the force of "compulsory arbitration," should deal with exceptional demands for higher wages, it was proposed.

The shekel should be devalued in line with its real value. The national budget should be cut drastically. (Ben-Yakar did not quote any specific amount.) After the cut, it should be frozen.

Government fiscal policy should be based on not imposing any new taxes. But present tax laws and collection methods should be simplified. These steps would actually lead to more income from taxes, not less, especially if proper tax brackets were established, said Ben-Yakar.

Finally, monetary policy should be based on seeing that credits and loans are given at their real cost.

Cabinet names new broadcasting council

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet yesterday decided to recommend to the president the names of the persons to serve as members of the Broadcasting Authority plenum for the next three years, starting April 1.

The plenum, a body with very little real power, meets on the average every six weeks. The outgoing plenum will hold its last meeting in Jerusalem today.

The cabinet is scheduled to name Micha Yonon as new authority chairman at its next meeting. Until then, Yonon — a National Religious Party activist, director of the Israel Bar Association and current authority vice-chairman, will serve as acting chairman.

The new director-general, expected to be journalist and former Prime Minister's Office spokesman Uri Porat, has not yet been officially appointed, because he must be approved by the new plenum. A senior official of Israel TV or Kol Yisrael radio will serve as acting director-general in the meantime. The new seven-member board of directors, which makes policy decisions on a week-to-week basis, will be named within a few days.

The following are to become members of the plenum, subject to approval by the president. They are representatives of political parties, as well as writers, teachers, development town residents and public figures.

They are: Moshe Edelstein, David Admon (due to be vice-chairman of the authority), David Elharar, Shlomo Alon, Hagai Eshed, Prof. Moshe Bar-Asher, Zvi Bernstein, Natan Brun, Dina Ben-Niker, Benny Gal, Kariel Gardosh (Dosh, the cartoonist), Prof. Aharon Dotan, Menahem Dotan, Shalom Danino, Prof. Shimon Sachs, Micha Yonon (authority chairman), Shalom Cohen, Ivriya Levine, David Mena, Yosef Nevo (former mayor of Herzliya), Dr. Hanayahu Noaf, Daniel Nahmani, Amiram Nir (former TV military correspondent, now a Labour Party activist), Shaul Amur, Moshe Amirav (former authority spokesman and now head of Traffic Safety Administration), Dr. Yisrael

Peleg, Eliezer Ronen, Jamal Kasseem, Yitzhak Katabi and Prof. Avner Shaki.

The government also approved the authority's budget for the coming two months at IS1,316 million.

Meanwhile, it was announced that Sara Frankel, who spent the last few years as the official in charge of Soviet Jewry contacts in the Israel Consulate in New York, has been chosen head of the radio news department at Kol Yisrael in Tel Aviv. Frankel, who served for years as political reporter in Tel Aviv for the radio, also covered Jewish affairs. She will be in charge of the broadcasts of radio news-magazine programmes from Tel Aviv, and in charge of Tel Aviv radio reporters.

JNF: Diaspora funds not used in areas

The Jewish National Fund yesterday denied that it is using contributions from the Diaspora to build a 50-dunam park in Ma'aleh Adumim beyond the Green Line east of Jerusalem.

The denial came in reaction to an advertisement by the Mordechai Anielewicz Circle of Americans for Progressive Israel in New York that appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* last Friday. The group, affiliated with Mapam and Hashomer Hatzair, called on the JNF in the U.S. to disassociate itself from all activities of the JNF on the West Bank.

A JNF official responded that no

contributions from abroad are used for land development beyond the Green Line, because of the organization's tax-exempt status.

But according to a 1960 agreement between the state and the JNF, the afforestation and land-development body is required to develop state lands, wherever they are.

The Ma'aleh Adumim park, he continued, is being built at the expense of the government, and is not being paid for by the JNF.

The advertisement was signed by 84 Jews around the U.S. who are members of the Anielewicz Circle.

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WORLD NEWS

Guerrillas kill 27 troops on eve of Salvador election

SAN SALVADOR (AP). — Leftist rebels virtually wiped out a 40-man army patrol on Saturday and attacked an army communications centre, sharply increasing guerrilla activity on the eve of El Salvador's first presidential election in seven years.

Election officials expected 1.8 million Salvadorans to vote yesterday. Polls were to open at 7 a.m. and close by 6 p.m. Areas without electricity had earlier closing times.

Security forces were on alert in anticipation of rebel attempts to disrupt the balloting, which the U.S. administration hopes will provide an underpinning of popular support for continued military and economic aid.

Later yesterday, left-wing guerrilla attacks cut electricity across half of El Salvador. The rebels, who are boycotting the poll, blew up power pylons and cut transmission cables in coordinated sabotage from the northeast of the country to the far west.

The power cuts caused considerable confusion and disarray as

polling opened.

Col. Roberto Rodriguez Murcia, commander of the 5th Brigade, said 27 soldiers were killed and five wounded in an attack by more than 70 rebels along a road about 72 kilometres southeast of the capital. It was the highest number of killed in the area this year.

Although Murcia reported 27 dead, reporters counted the bodies of 32 soldiers in a hospital morgue in nearby San Vicente.

Murcia denied initial reports that

the troops were ambushed, saying they ran into the guerrilla force while patrolling the road between Tecoloca and the town of Arco about eight kilometres to the north in San Vicente Province.

By the time reinforcements arrived from the 5th Brigade's base in the provincial capital of San Vicente, the rebels had fled, he said.

Murcia said the 40-man patrol from the 5th Brigade's Tehuacan Hunter battalion ran into the rebels an hour or two after sunrise.

Queen Elizabeth in Cyprus, set to visit Jordan today

AKROTIRI AIR BASE, Cyprus. — Queen Elizabeth II of England arrived at this British sovereign air base in Cyprus yesterday for an overnight stay on her way to Jordan for a five-day state visit.

Administrator of British bases in Cyprus Maj.-Gen. Desmond Langley and other British senior officers welcomed the queen as she stepped off the British Airways jet, but the press was excluded from covering the arrival because of tight security surrounding her stopover.

The queen and her husband Prince Philip drove 20km. to the adjacent British Episkopi base, where she will be spending the night at the cliff-top residence of Gen. Langley. President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus accompanied by his wife Mimi, was to make a courtesy call on the queen last night.

She is scheduled to leave Akrotiri at 10 a.m. today for Jordan. In Amman, the Jordanian

authorities were mounting a tight but unobtrusive security operation for the state visit, following a small bomb blast there on Saturday in which two people were injured.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and senior ministers met in emergency session in London on Saturday night to discuss whether the tour should go ahead in the wake of the bombing at the Intercontinental Hotel, close to the British Embassy.

In a statement issued in Syria, the radical Abu Nidal Palestinian group claimed responsibility for the blast. It said the attack was aimed at the Jordanian authorities but was also intended as a warning to the British government. Three of the group's members are serving jail terms in Britain for the attempted assassination in 1982 of then Israeli ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov. (AP, Reuters)

Haig, in book, says Reagan doesn't control administration

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Former U.S. secretary of state Alexander Haig bitterly criticized several sides of President Ronald Reagan and implied that the chief executive does not fully control decisions. The allegations were published yesterday in excerpts from a forthcoming book.

Although Haig praised Reagan as a man of "sound instincts" and "a nice guy" in excerpts from his memoirs in Time magazine, he described an "administration of chums" with whom Reagan sometimes sided too readily in policy debates.

Haig defended his record as secretary of state from January 1981 until mid-1982, and lashed out at a "troika" of aides, including

presidential counsellor Edwin Meese, now Reagan's nominee for attorney-general, saying they thwarted his policies.

In one section quoted by Time in an introduction but not serialized this week, Haig implied that it was not clear who controlled the White House.

"To me," he wrote, "the White House was as mysterious as a ghost ship. You heard the creak of the rigging and the groan of the timbers and sometimes even glimpsed the crew on deck. But which of the crew had the helm?"

Haig's book — *Caveat: Realism, Reagan and Foreign Policy* — is due to be published late next month and is being serialized over a two-week period by the news magazine.

7 Ghanaian rebels killed in 'search and destroy missions'

LONDON (AP). — Ghanaian government troops recently killed seven rebels in clashes, and three soldiers who attempted a coup last June have been captured and executed by firing squad, Ghana's state-run Accra Radio reported yesterday.

Announcing an apparent new bid to overthrow the West African nation's military government, the broadcast said that "groups of dissidents" had infiltrated "to create chaos and confusion by attacking vital civil and military installations and personnel."

The broadcast, monitored in London, said the military government of Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings has imposed a night-time curfew and ordered troops to stay in their

barracks unless ordered out by the army commander.

The three soldiers executed on Saturday were captured in "special search and destroy operations" which began last Friday, the statement by the ruling Provisional National Defence Committee said.

A fourth soldier with the trio was hit and died from wounds in the clash near Ghana's western border with the Ivory Coast, it added.

The official announcement said "combined military and police operations" were continuing, urged a public alert for rebels gone underground, but insisted "the situation is under control."

The coup bid last June 19 was the fourth attempt to topple Rawlings since he seized power in a military coup on December 31, 1981.

1,000 Philippine families said to flee area of fighting

MANILA (AP). — About 1,000 families have fled their homes in the southern Philippines' Davao region after the military intensified its drive against a combined force of communist and Moslem separatist rebels, published reports said yesterday.

The Manila newspaper Bulletin said residents of Magnaga, Bongabong and Tagtana districts in Pantukan municipality, Davao Del Norte province, abandoned their homes on Saturday after the military began shelling rebel positions. The area is about 976 kilometres southeast of Manila.

About 60 rebels have died in clashes with government troops in the Pantukan area since the fighting began more than a week ago,

Manila newspapers said. Except for an officer and a soldier killed in one incident, there has been no mention of government losses, the local newspaper reported.

Sgt. Dominador Balicoco, a duty officer at the Davao regional military command reached by telephone yesterday, said he had no figures on casualties.

He said the rebel force being hunted numbered about 250 men, including elements of the New People's Army, military arm of the outlawed Communist Party, and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Communist guerrillas seek the overthrow of President Ferdinand Marcos's regime. The MNLF is fighting for local Moslem self-rule.

11 children dead in S. African bus mishap

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). — Eleven children were killed and 58 seriously injured when a bus overturned in a southeastern suburb of Johannesburg yesterday, a spokesman for the South African city's traffic department said.

About 90 black children, most of them under 10 years old, were in the bus, and all the injured were taken to black hospitals for treatment.

Bomb wrecks Nice office of former Iranian official

NICE (Reuters). — A bomb destroyed the office of a former Iranian provincial governor here on Saturday night, but there were no injuries, French police said yesterday.

They said the bomb exploded in the office of Hamid Heshmati, a 52-year-old lawyer who they said is a prominent member of the Iranian exile community in France.

UN official: Experts agree Iraq used chemical warfare

LONDON (Reuters). — Western experts sent to Iran by the UN to investigate charges that Iraq used chemical warfare against Iranian troops are said to have determined that the charges are true.

"I'm sure that they found justification for Iran's claims," a high UN official in New York said yesterday. "On the eve of the experts' report to the organization's secretary-general, their findings will probably be made public tomorrow."

About 60 Iranian soldiers have been taken for treatment to European and Japanese hospitals. Six have died, and many others are in critical condition. Their doctors have said that the men fell victim to the effects of chemical warfare, which was outlawed by a Geneva Convention of 1925.

"Tests have proved the presence of two poisons — yellow rain, the common name for mycotoxin (a fungal poison), and mustard gas," said Dr. Herbert Nadd, head of a surgical clinic at Vienna's University Hospital, where seven Iranian soldiers are under treatment and three have already died.

"We have found first evidence of poison... We are dealing with mycotoxins," said a spokesman at a hospital in Munich, West Germany, where five Iranian casualties arrived last week.

"Certain indications make it look like mustard gas," reported Serge Baux, head of the burns unit at Saint Antoine Hospital in Paris, referring to eye burns and lung damage in two patients he is treating.

Iraqi claim of air strike on Kharg Island is denied

LONDON (Reuters). — Iran yesterday denied an Iraqi claim to have sunk four oil tankers and merchant ships in a pre-dawn strike near Iran's Kharg Island oil terminal at the head of the Gulf on Saturday.

The Iranian Supreme Defence Council's war information headquarters said the claim and similar Iraqi reports in the past were an attempt to portray the Gulf as insecure and disrupt shipping in the region, the Iranian national news agency Irna reported.

The agency, received in London, quoted a spokesman as saying such Iraqi claims were usually made during weekends so that denials by shipping insurance and other companies involved would be delayed. The spokesman said the latest claims, "like other claims by the

defeated Baghdad regime, were completely baseless."

The U.S. State Department on Saturday said it could not confirm the Iraqi claim, and the captain of a Greek tanker loading oil at the Kharg oil terminal reported that he had seen no Iraqi attack on the terminal or within 15 km. of it.

A Greek Merchant Marine Ministry spokesman in Athens yesterday said that when Iraq reported the attack, the ministry asked all Greek ships in the area to report any damage.

"The Greek tanker Tade Star, which was loading oil in Kharg Island oil terminal, reported that there had been no attack up to 0800 GMT on March 24," the spokesman said, "and the ship sailed safely from the terminal shortly after."

Sikh students 'planned mass killing'

NEW DELHI (AP). — A fanatic Sikh student union was outlawed last week because it was planning to recruit a 150,000-member guerrilla army in Punjab to murder Hindus with the help of trained and armed foreigners, major Indian newspapers reported yesterday.

The All-India Sikh Students Federation was banned on March 19 and about 300 members arrested because it was openly committed to a massive campaign of murder and terrorism to demand Sikh autonomy and Punjab's secession, the reports said.

It was planning to hold Sikh-Muslim conventions, recruit foreigners and train them in guerrilla tactics against Hindu targets and others on a long hit list, they said.

The Statesman, Indian Express, Hindustan Times and other newspapers cited government intel-

ligence reports on a meeting of the federation's executive committee February 26 to 28 in the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

Actor Sam Jaffe dead at age 93

BEVERLY HILLS, California (AP). — Character actor Sam Jaffe, who played Dr. Zerkow in the Ben Casey television series in the early 1960's, died on Saturday, a family friend said. He was 93.

Jaffe had recently developed cancer, his friend Rupert Allan said. He died in the house he shared with his wife, Betty Ackerman.

"He hadn't worked too much in the past few months," Allan said. "He loved working but he had to cut down. Old age just caught up with him."

Child slavery has become big business in India

NEW DELHI (AP). — More than 10,000 children from Uttar Pradesh have been exported and sold as slaves, bonded labourers or prostitutes for 1,000 to 2,000 rupees (\$100-\$200) each, the Times of India reported yesterday.

The newspaper said a major racket has emerged in the populous northern state where children under 16 are kidnapped and runaways are lured away by gangs.

Citing "knowledgeable sources," the newspaper said the sale of children, an ancient practice, "is now a well-organized business with its own schedule of supply and demand and price fixing." More than 12 kidnap and export gangs are operating in the state, which borders Nepal, and each gang is assigned a region.

Children under 16 are either kidnapped or lured away, and most are runaways from rural areas who flee mistreatment at home. During the last year, it said, children from Uttar Pradesh were sold in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Punjab states.

In the past, it said, most of the children were kidnapped, but that was considered too risky because police became involved. Today, gangs send men to railway stations and bus stops to spot runaways and lure them with promises of help, homes and work.

The child then reportedly is taken to a gang's "reform centre," where he or she is placed in solitary confinement, beaten, starved and

abused until his will is broken, the report said.

When a purchase request is received, a suitable child is dispatched, it said.

The newspaper, quoting police, said the children are divided into three main categories of ability: children with low intelligence but physical strength are sold by gangs in the bonded labour racket. They are employed by families, farmers and small industries, it said.

Mischievous children with average intelligence are trained as pickpockets and thieves. Fair-skinned children are often sold into prostitution, it said.

Dull-witted children are more in demand than bright children, because they are considered easier to control, the report said.

Sports

Mersey teams in 0-0 draw

WEMBLEY, England (AP). — Everton and Liverpool drew 0-0 after extra time in the English FA Cup soccer final at Wembley on Sunday and will replay on Wednesday at the Manchester City ground.

The first ever final between the North-West city's two famous teams came to life in the 30-minute period of extra time when Liverpool, the defending Milk Cup champions, twice had the ball into the Everton net. But on both occasions, the referee had blown for offside and neither effort counted. The game was played in driving rain.

A draw was the least Everton deserved after a battling performance against their illustrious opponents in front of a capacity 100,000 crowd, most of whom were Liverpoolians, who had poured South to the national stadium just outside London. Over 5,000 fans were arrested for drunk and disorderly behaviour before the match began.

The first half belonged completely to Everton, whose players were quicker to the tackle and pressured their arch-rivals at every opportunity.

After just eight minutes, Adrian Heath, Everton's tricky centre-forward, broke through and his shot appeared to strike Liverpool defender Alan Hansen on the hand.

But fervent claims for an Everton penalty were turned down by referee Alan Robinson. Then Kevin Keegan, who had been Liverpool's top scorer in the league, was fouled by Everton defender Steve Bruce, but only Graham Taylor, the Everton goalkeeper, saved the shot.

The game, watched live on television in several countries from Hong Kong to Sweden, turned Liverpool's way after half-time. Jon Farnham, who was in the first half but had appeared first from their European Champions Cup exploits in Lisbon on Wednesday, at last began to pose problems for the Everton defence.

Kenney Dalglish, who had been completely out of touch in the first half, had a short burst of goals in the second half, but his shot was blocked by Everton goalkeeper Neville Southall, who then saved again from substitute Michael Robinson. Moments later, see markman Ian Rush scored on a shot from six yards.

As the game moved into extra time, Southall made the save of the match — blocking himself left to keep out a Rush volley.

British Budd

LONDON (AP). — South African wonder athlete Zola Budd has arrived in Britain and hopes to obtain citizenship so she can compete for Britain at the 1984 Olympics Games, London's "News of the World" reported yesterday.

The weekly newspaper said Miss Budd, 17, flew to Southampton Airport in the South of England on Saturday from her home in South Africa and was accompanied by her parents, Allan and Helen Budd, who claim to be of British descent, claiming that her paternal grandfather was British.

She holds unofficial world records over 3,000 and 5,000 metres and is among the world's fastest women athletes over 1,500 metres, the paper said.

Her achievements have never been recognized by the International Olympic Committee.

Swedish wonders never cease

MILAN (AP). — Rising star Stefan Edberg, 18, upset top-seeded fellow-Swede Mats Wilander, a veteran of 19, 6-4, 6-2, in Sunday's final of the \$365,000 Cuore Cup tennis tournament at Milan's Indoor Sports Palace.

Edberg became the sensation of the Milan competition, downed his opponent in one hour and 14 minutes to pocket a first place prize of \$70,000.

It was the first major win for Edberg in an international professional tournament and his first in six matches against Wilander.

Edberg, who dominated junior tournaments last year, showed a stunning superiority in Sunday's match, overcoming his experienced fellow-countryman with fast strokes to the fore and consistent cross-court backhand passing shots.

He never had problems in holding his serve, while Wilander was often in trouble in keeping his own.

Test cricket

COLOMBO (AP). — John Reid and Martin Crowe took the New Zealand first innings score from 27 for 2 at lunch to 94 without further loss on Sunday, the second day of the third Test against Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankans were after 256.

Birdwatching in Israel

Israel is regarded as a birdwatcher's paradise, and local enthusiasts by the thousands participate in birdwatching and other nature-related activities.

BIRDWATCHING IN ISRAEL is a publication of special interest to all bird-lovers. All you need to know on local avifauna, including a complete list of bird species in Israel, and how, when and where to find them, plus other information vital to the birdwatcher in Israel. A publication of the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel. Beautifully illustrated, magazine format, 33 1/2 x 24 cm., 48 pages.



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Marathon Men

From Now On Delegates and Errors Will Count a Lot

By PHIL GAILLEY

AFTER a rapid-fire succession of primaries and caucuses, the campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination has shifted to a less hectic but potentially decisive phase. In the coming weeks, the political calendar provides the three remaining candidates with more running space between the major contests but less margin for error.

Through last Tuesday's Illinois primary, the campaign had been largely a contest for publicity, a big factor in Gary Hart's sudden emergence as a leading contender for the nomination. In this new phase, however, the accumulation of delegates will be no less important than press attention to the horse race.

For Walter F. Mondale, it was a week that put him back on his political feet amid signs that Mr. Hart's campaign was losing force, and the shine of newness, as a result of closer voter scrutiny and Mr. Hart's own blunders. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, too, had his best week so far, getting 21 percent of the vote in Illinois and running ahead of his two opponents in caucuses in South Carolina and Mississippi, where Democrats chose mostly uncommitted delegates. By winning 79 percent of the black vote in Illinois, Mr. Jackson demonstrated his potential with an important segment of the Democratic coalition and increased the chances that he could arrive at the national convention in July as a force to be reckoned with.

"Movin' up," he shouted to a jubilant audience in Chicago. Savoring the fact that he, a black man, was one of the three candidates left in what began as an eight-man race, Mr. Jackson said, "I am at the apex of the triangle and that is the very opposite of being taken for granted by the Democrats or written off by the Republicans."

The former Vice President's solid win in Illinois convinced the writers of his political obituary, and increased both his spirit and chances for the battle ahead. His joining political setbacks brought out the fighter in Mr. Mondale, a side that few had seen before. Last week he was back to swinging at President Reagan, denouncing the "sleaze" in his Administration, even as he continued to jab at Mr. Hart as a man too erratic and unseasoned to be President.

The Illinois result was the first indication of the primary campaign that Mr. Mondale can win without a heavy black vote. According to The New York Times/CBS News Poll, Mr. Mondale's share of the black vote



The contests ahead

Democratic Party primaries and caucuses through April

Date	State	Number of delegates	System
Today		25	Caucus
Tomorrow		78	Caucus
March 27		60	Primary
March 31		63	Primary
		6	Caucus
April 3		285	Primary
April 7		89	Caucus
April 10		195	Primary
April 14		40	Caucus
		69	Caucus
April 16		27	Caucus
April 18		86	Caucus
April 24		17	Caucus
April 28		7	Caucus

*conclusion of caucuses that began yesterday

was only 14 percent; he gained his victory with a surprising showing among the more affluent suburban voters who had been Mr. Hart's base of support in earlier primaries.

Though impressive as a political comeback, the Illinois vote, by itself, did not provide a convincing answer to a central question hanging over Mr. Mondale's candidacy: Does he have the potential to reach beyond traditional Democratic constituency groups and inspire a broad cross-section of voters? Mr. Hart continues to claim that distinction for himself. But his performance in Illinois raised questions about his vulnerability as a candidate.

The Senator, who has gone winless in the last seven contests, went into Illinois holding a comfortable lead over Mr. Mondale in the polls, but Mr. Hart saw his advantage slip away as he fumbled and stumbled in the closing days of the campaign.

He apologized to Mr. Mondale for accusing him of

preparing to run a series of "negative" commercials that did not exist. Then Mr. Hart's campaign began airing a television spot criticizing Mr. Mondale's endorsement by Edward Vrdolyak, the Cook County Democratic chairman. Mr. Hart first defended the commercials but later ordered them off the air, only to learn still later that the spots were still running.

Mr. Hart's blunders, which his aides blamed on "gaps" in his campaign organization, fit neatly into Mr. Mondale's relentless line of attack. How, the former Vice President asked, could a man be trusted with the Presidency when he was unable to

control his own campaign? Working New York City last week, where an estimated 35 percent of the Democratic voters are Jewish, Mr. Hart found it necessary to make another apology, this time to a Jewish group for what he said was an unauthorized and inaccurate letter from his Senate office suggesting that he favored international negotiations to decide whether the American Embassy in Israel should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The question of the letter arose after Mr. Hart had told the group that he supported the embassy move and that he had "no apologies to make and no explanations to offer" for his position on issues important to Israel. "I

apologize for that ambiguity," Mr. Hart said. But he told reporters a few hours later that he had not apologized. "I'm not apologizing for anything," he insisted.

It was not the first time his opponents had challenged Mr. Hart's credibility. At a candidate debate in Atlanta recently, Mr. Hart denied that he had ever promised to use the powers of the Presidency to withhold Federal projects from states that had not ratified the equal rights amendment for women. A tape recording of his remarks to the National Women's Political Caucus in San Antonio last July shows that Mr. Hart did make such a commitment. "I'm talking about specific Federal projects," he told the women's group, "that would be used to bring around people who are on the fence on that or whose support is lukewarm."

Mr. Hart, like Mr. Mondale before him, has learned that being a frontrunner, a title neither candidate is eager to have at this point, has its disadvantages. He is hoping this weekend's caucuses in Virginia, Montana and Kansas, his native state, will end both his losing streak and political blues. But the next real test of candidate strength will take place in the Northeast, in primaries in Connecticut on March 27, New York on April 3 and Pennsylvania on April 10.

Mondale strategists said their candidate would continue to press his attacks against Mr. Hart's political character at least through the New York campaign. Mr. Hart, meanwhile, said he would ignore what he called Mr. Mondale's "erroneously negative" campaign against him and try to focus the debate on issues. "If he wins the nomination by destroying me, he will give away the election to the President," Mr. Hart said of the Mondale attacks. "There's something Biblical about it: He will have destroyed himself."

Major News

In Summary

School Prayer Amendment Fails in Senate

School prayer was doubtless one of those issues that many in the Senate — especially those facing the voters in November — would rather have avoided, but all 100 members showed up to vote last week. And in the face of intense lobbying by President Reagan, and Old Testament-style threats of retribution from its advocates, a constitutional amendment that would have permitted organized spoken prayer in public schools fell 11 votes short of the required two-thirds majority.

The roll call was 56 to 44 on a proposal that would have overturned the 1962 Supreme Court decision that outlawed organized prayer in classrooms. In more than two weeks of debate that included frequent flashes of rhetorical fire and brimstone, opponents had argued that an amendment was unnecessary because students can now pray in silence if they choose to and that the measure would have narrowed the constitutionally mandated separation of church and state. In the end, the winning side was made up of 26 Democrats (for the most part from everywhere but Dixie) and 18 Republicans (most of them moderates). The losers included 19 Democrats and 37 Republicans.

While polls show that 80 percent of Americans favor such an amendment, the leader of the opposition, Lowell P. Weicker Jr., maintained that Presidential candidates — presumably Mr. Reagan, who so far hasn't had much luck selling Congress on his social-issues agenda — would be wise to let the matter rest. "I think anyone who uses this issue in a Presidential campaign in 1984 is going to have it backfire on him," the Connecticut Republican said. But Mr. Reagan, having apparently decided otherwise, said that "the issue of free religious speech is not dead as

a result of this vote." Senator Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican, who may be facing a tough re-election campaign this year himself, asserted that "We have just begun to fight." Majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., who had sponsored the Administration's amendment but is stepping down at the end of this term, didn't sound at all eager for yet another round. "This is a commitment that I feel I have fulfilled," he said, "and I have no plans for anything else."

Cold Winds From Moscow

President Reagan's efforts to warm up relations with Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, seems to have run into a cold front in Moscow. Brushing aside optimistic appraisals by some American and Western European officials, Tass last week repeated Soviet insistence that the suspended arms talks in Geneva "can reopen only through withdrawal of the American missiles" deployed in Europe since December.

Mr. Chernenko showed cordiality that was somewhat ambiguous after he succeeded the late Yuri V. Andropov last month; American officials said, but he has retreated into stony implacability. In an unusual snub earlier this month, Kremlin leaders would not receive Lieut. Gen. Brent Scowcroft who was carrying a personal letter from Mr. Reagan to Mr. Chernenko. Messengers such as Mr. Scowcroft, who heads the President's Commission on Strategic Forces, ordinarily receive a courteous hearing. Administration officials said the undelivered message concerned Mr. Reagan's suggestions for subjects to be discussed at Geneva and was to have been accompanied by authorized comments from Mr. Scowcroft.

The Administration is hoping to reopen talks on cultural and scientific

exchanges and on establishing new Soviet and American consulates, as proposed by Mr. Chernenko. But according to reports from Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko has been making American concessions on nuclear arms the key to improvement in the whole relationship.

As for Mr. Chernenko's suggestions that the United States agree to a total ban on nuclear tests and on antisatellite weapons in space, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle said last week that the Administration is not enthusiastic because of difficulties he sees in verifying such agreements. His office has also called for revisions in the verification procedures for a ban on chemical weapons and for an accord on reducing troops in Europe. Other officials said the Pentagon versions were likely to meet opposition from the Russians and the Western European allies.

Relations were not improved last week when a Soviet tanker was damaged by a mine in a Nicaraguan port. Mr. Gromyko called in the United States chargé d'affaires, Warren Zimmermann and delivered a blunt protest accusing the United States of "piracy." American intelligence agents have been assisting the Nicaraguan rebels who took credit for laying the mine.

"Essentially, we've been telling them that we're serious and ready to engage, and their responses have all been pretty frosty," a senior State Department official said. Soviet officials were said to have told General Scowcroft and American diplomats that they believed the Administration was trying to lure Moscow back to the negotiating tables in order to persuade Americans that dialogue was under way, and thus to help Mr. Reagan's re-election prospects.

However, some Administration officials contend that Soviet unwillingness to get into discussions reflects uncertainty in the Kremlin after the deaths of two Soviet leaders, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Mr. Andropov, in 15 months.

An Educator's Tangled Books

New York City Schools Chancellor Anthony J. Alvarado took a leave of

absence last week to defend himself against charges that he had compromised his position by borrowing money from subordinates. The following day, when the City Department of Investigation released an interim report on what Mr. Alvarado himself called his "personal financial morass," it became clear that the Chancellor's defense would indeed be a full-time job.

The unfolding tale of Mr. Alvarado's financial practices began last month when a school official was arrested for, among other things, firing a gun into a neighbor's apartment. A police search of the official's apartment turned up documents indicating that he had lent Mr. Alvarado thousands of dollars. The Chancellor said then that the loan was a personal matter; within a week, Mr. Al-

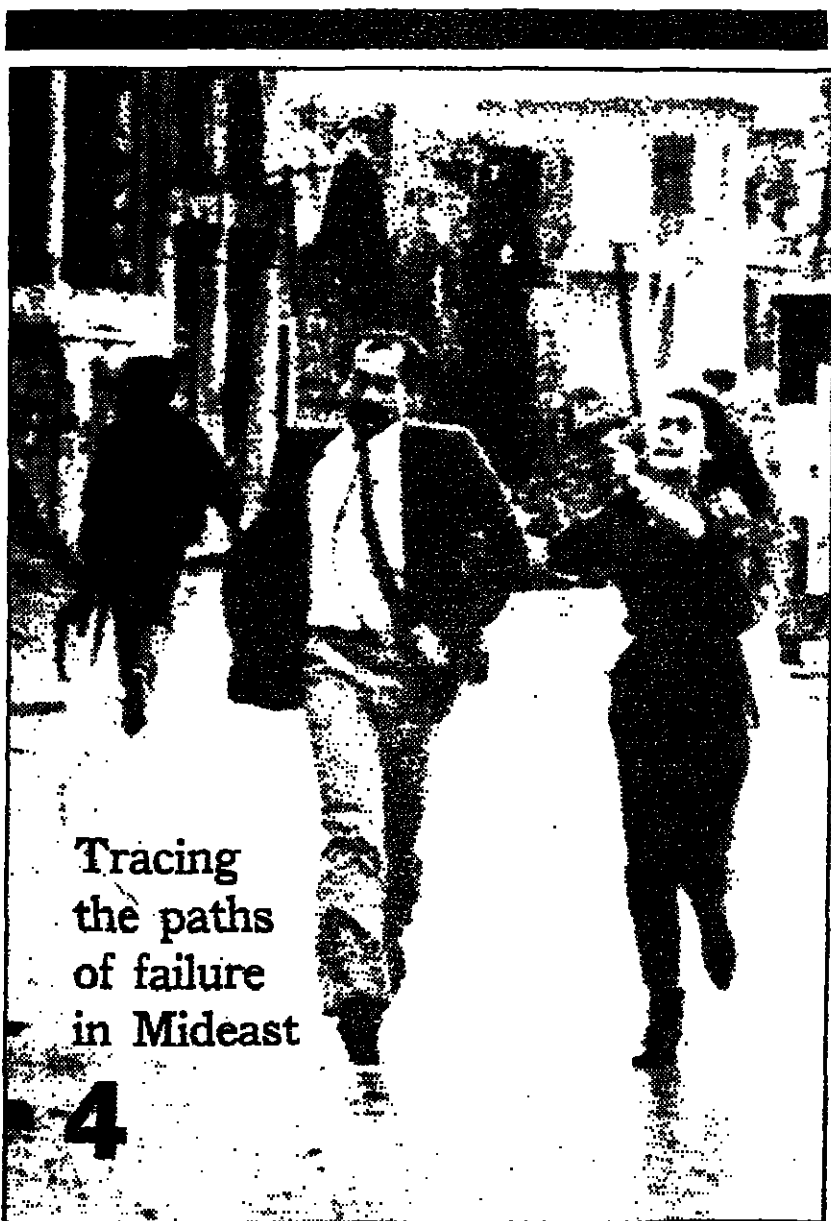
varado disclosed more than \$80,000 in loans, most from school employees who had worked for him when he was a district superintendent in East Harlem. He continued last week to maintain that he had never "used public money for personal gain."

But the information developed by the city's investigators produced a less sanguine picture of Mr. Alvarado's activities. The report accused him of soliciting loans from his aides in a manner that was "inherently coercive and frequently deceptive." It said he had approved contracts for the Board of Education with a person from whom he had borrowed money. The investigations Department also accused Mr. Alvarado of conflicts of interest, violating ethical standards, failing to report \$128,000 in income on tax returns and filing false documents with banks to obtain mortgages. In sum, said Patrick W. McGinley, the investigation Commissioner, the report showed a man "who has demonstrated a disturbing disregard for any rules governing professional and personal conduct." Mr. Alvarado earns \$95,000 a year.

The city turned the report over to state and Federal prosecutors. United States Attorney Rudolph Giuliani, head of the Manhattan-based Southern District, said his office would look into allegations concerning misuse of Federal funds in East Harlem while Raymond Dearie, the United States Attorney in the Brooklyn, would take charge of the income tax investigation. Although Mr. Alvarado did not respond publicly to the charges, his lawyer, Thomas Puccio, criticized the report and denied several of its findings.

The Board of Education, meanwhile, appointed Nathan Quinones, head of the high school division, deputy chancellor and placed him in charge temporarily while it continued to struggle over Mr. Alvarado's fate. It met yesterday behind closed doors with Mr. Puccio to discuss what the attorney referred to as "procedural matters."

Mr. Alvarado came to office in the spring with a reputation as a successful district superintendent whose educational innovations were sometimes offset by sloppy fiscal habits. At the time, officials were convinced his creativity far outweighed his administrative liabilities. By last week, there were few who still believed it.



Tracing the paths of failure in Mideast

4

Lebanese couple running for cover near Beirut's green line as heavy fighting erupted between Druse and Moslem militiamen last week.

The Nation

Democrats Up the Ante In Deficit Game

In the matter of deficit reduction, Democrats in the Senate last week called and raised not only the Republicans in the White House but their own colleagues on the other side of Capitol Hill. The plan, presented by Senator Lawrence H. Sanders, ranking member on the Senate Budget Committee, is the fourth to emerge in the past 10 days. It is, however, only the third most ambitious scheme for lightening the red ink that only optimistic projections put at less than \$150 billion in 1985.

• **The bipartisan budget "freeze."** The latest in a series of freeze proposals, also put forward last week, makes the grandest promise — \$285 billion in savings through the 1987 fiscal year. The plan's sponsors, who include Senator Ernest F. Hollings, an erstwhile Democratic Presidential hopeful, would hold military spending to a 3 percent increase after inflation, freeze domestic outlays in 1985, allowing them to grow only 3 percent a year after that, and postpone for five years the indexing of tax rates to inflation now scheduled to go into effect next year.

• **The Senate Democrats.** The Senate Democratic caucus would find \$200 billion over the next three years. The means include delaying indexing for two years and raising \$26 billion more through new taxes, and by cutting proposed military spending increases by \$54 billion and domestic spending by \$43 billion.

• **The House Democrats.** The majority's leaders weighed in last week with a \$185 billion proposal that would raise \$48.8 billion in new taxes, mostly through loophole closings. It would pull back military spending increases by \$95.6 billion, and cap most domestic program increases at 3.5 percent a year (not including Social Security and automatic benefit programs for the poor). The plan's innovative feature, "pay-as-you-go," was in fact first proposed in the early years of the Republic; in its latest incarnation it requires any spending increases to be offset by tax increases or other spending cuts.

• **The White House and the Senate Republicans.** The Republican plan, unveiled by the White House 10 days

ago, would "put a halt to the abuse and indignity" that the Administration has "inflicted" on the disabled, according to its sponsor, Representative J.J. Pickle, a Texas Democrat. A similar bill has strong bipartisan support in the Senate.

That the Administration's review procedures should be changed seems a widely shared view. Since they were instituted three years ago, Federal courts have modified them in 20 states and governors have overridden them in nine others. Of the 470,000 people who have been ruled ineligible, 160,000 have been reinstated after appeals and 120,000 still have appeals pending.

Missile-Defense In Doubt

A year ago President Reagan proposed a high-tech defense system that he said would render nuclear-armed ballistic missiles "impotent and obsolete." Some Government specialists have since said that such a system might be decades away and that the President had perhaps overstated its potential capabilities. And last week a panel of independent scientists said that, besides the perhaps insurmountable technological obstacles, the cost of such a system could be prohibitive.

The nine-member panel was sponsored by the Union of Concerned Scientists, which has occasionally opposed other Administration arms proposals, and included a number of widely respected researchers. One contributor, Hans Bethe, a Nobel laureate physicist and a leader of the Manhattan project, which built the first nuclear bombs, said a defensive system that stood any chance of destroying Soviet missiles in their early, boost phase — when missiles are thought to be most vulnerable — would cost at least \$70 billion. The report, which was endorsed by three dozen specialists including former Presidential scientific advisers, said the Soviet Union could easily take evasive action, including launching thousands of dummy warheads.

Altogether, the White House wants to spend \$26 billion on missile-defense research through the 80's. The Administration, which has claimed that Moscow is at least a decade ahead, has asked Congress for authority to spend \$3 billion in start-up money during the next fiscal year. The scientists argued last week that the Russians are in fact "far behind the United States" and that the White House's stress should be on seeking arms controls arguments.

The Rape Trial That Went Public

When the verdicts were handed down last week in the gang-rape of a woman on the pool table of a New Bedford, Mass., bar, it was not only the end of a trial. It was also the last episode of a nationally televised courtroom drama. Four of the men were found guilty and two were acquitted in the attack, which took place on March 6, 1983. Thousands of people, most of Portuguese ancestry, marched to protest the convictions. Supporters of the defendants, all Portuguese, said press sensationalism stirred up ethnic prejudice.

In the most widely seen criminal trial on television, Cable News Network cameras, with the judge's permission, panned the courtroom, closing in on tight shots of jurors and registering the reactions of the spectators and defendants. The victim was not shown but her name was used at times during the trial. Larry LaMotte, executive producer of CNN, said it was technically impossible to edit out her name. "The judge said we could go live," he said, "and that's as far as our responsibility went." Several newspapers dropped the traditional ban on using the victim's name, saying that the live coverage made it inevitable. Then, last week, a prosecutor in the case used the victim's name on NBC's "Today" show. NBC aired the segment, a producer said, because the newspapers were using the name.

Several women's groups said the Massachusetts case had already discouraged other rape victims from reporting assaults for fear their identities would be made public. Ronald A. Pina, the Bristol County district attorney who prosecuted the case, agreed. "We've seen a drop-off in rape victims agreeing to testify," he said. The case attracted attention from the start because it was reported that a crowd cheered the men on. As it turned out, there were only three other people in the bar besides the six defendants: the bartender and a young man, who were both stopped from calling the police, and a man who was asleep. "The men are guilty of something," Manuel Ferreira, publisher of the Portuguese Times in New Bedford, told a reporter. But, he said, "if it had been realistically reported from the start, there would have been no Gloria Steinem, no 'Good Morning America.'"

Katherine Roberts,
Michael Wright
and Caroline Rand Herron



United Press International
Senator Lawrence H. Sanders

ago, takes the form of a revision of the \$100 billion "down payment" President Reagan's proposed in his first budget request seven weeks ago. The second version would save \$150 billion over three years by trimming domestic spending by more than twice the amount the House Democrats would, while reducing military spending increases by less than half. The tax proposals, however, are essentially similar.

In the juggling in the weeks to come, the White House/Senate G.O.P. plan, on behalf of which the President worked the Hill on Wednesday, and the House Democratic proposal are expected to be the main contenders. Mr. Reagan has repeatedly vowed to veto any tampering with indexing, and many Democrats fear too much success at deficit reduction could benefit the Republicans in November.

Easing on Disabled

The Reagan Administration apparently has decided to stop reviewing and cutting off Social Security disability benefits, but would like to leave itself the option of reverting to the procedure in 18 months. White House aides conceded it was no coincidence that the move came in an election year.

Indeed, if a formal announcement is made tomorrow, as some thought it might, it will come just a day before the House of Representatives is expected to pass a measure that would make comprehensive changes in the disability program. The bill, which is strongly opposed by the

As Mondale Nears Fund Limit, His Field Staff Is Cut



ballyhooing their own money advantage for months, they now insist that money is not so crucial. They assert, for example, that Mr. Mondale won in Georgia and Illinois even though he had been outspent there. "We're trying to streamline and stretch out through the California primary," said Maxine Isaacs, his press secretary. "We're restructuring our campaign to stay in business and be competitive and have the media and Mondale traveling through June." In practical terms, explained Jim Johnson, the campaign chairman, this means the remaining 28 states will get less spending than the first 22 states. "There will be fewer offices, fewer phone banks, fewer organizers," he said. "Our ratio of spending on media as against organization will go up. We have to pick and choose more carefully and be more frugal."

Hart Is Gearing Up

The Hart problem is essentially the reverse: gearing up nationwide. Until recently, the Hart campaign got along modestly, concentrating on a few states and hopscotch campaigning from airport to airport to pick up coverage on local television news shows. But now, engaged in a wide state-by-state battle for delegates, the Senator needs a larger organization and plenty of money to get his message out.

Attempting to make the most of momentum after New Hampshire, the Hart campaign spent about \$900,000 in the nine primaries and caucuses held on March 13 and an additional \$550,000 in Illinois, more than double the stated Mondale expenditures. With the volunteer help of Morris Dees, an expert in direct-mail fund-raising, the Hart campaign has sent out between two and three million pieces of mail over the past three weeks, pulling in more than \$2 million so far this month. Hart fund-raisers are also racing the Mondale team to tap former financial patrons of Senator John Glenn and other drop-out candidates and banking on concerts by stars like Carole King to bring in big cash. "We feel we're in a very favorable position financially vis-à-vis Mondale," said Oliver Henkel, Mr. Hart's campaign manager.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson never expected to keep pace financially with the others, counting more on community support through black churches as well as press coverage and televised political debates to give him wide exposure. But by taking more than 20 percent of the vote in Georgia earlier in the month, and with his strong showing in Illinois, he has given impetus to his fund-raising lately and kept alive eligibility for Federal matching funds. By March 1, he had raised and spent about \$1.3 million; since then, he has picked up another \$300,000 in donations and, qualified for nearly \$600,000 in Government funds, enough to keep his campaign moving.

Largely unnoticed beside the drama of the Democratic battle, President Reagan's forces are moving to match the Democrats in spending. By the end of February, the Republican camp had pulled in a hefty \$10.8 million and spent roughly half of that to finance a well-heeled headquarters operation. On Friday, a new infusion was promised in the form of Federal matching funds of \$3.5 million. Reagan strategists plan to raise and spend the full legal quota, putting at least \$4 million into a voter registration drive, \$4 million into television advertising, and something close to that into political trips by the President, Vice President Bush and other top Administration officials. "We are planning to spend the full \$24 million," said John Buckley, a campaign spokesman. "The thinking is that you have had eight Democratic candidates out there for about a year, mostly beating up on President Reagan, and we feel there is a need to get the President's message out to counterbalance that."

Being Outspent Early Could Result in Dividends for Hart

By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON — While the limelight shone on Walter F. Mondale's victory in Illinois last week, his campaign organization quietly furloughed 65 of its 200 staff members and field workers. He has also been using long-distance-satellite news conferences with some states to save on travel money. In the days leading up to the New York primary next week, Mr. Mondale's top aides will pass up hotels for private homes.

The Mondale campaign, feeling the pinch of Federal spending limits, is being forced to watch its budget for the marathon that still lies ahead.

Senator Gary Hart's campaign, meanwhile, wrestles with a different problem — the demands of fund-raising and politicking for an expanding campaign. With no fear of exceeding Federal limits, Hart strategists had planned to send the Senator to California this weekend for five fund-raising events. But after the Illinois defeat, they canceled all but one, feeling Mr. Hart could not afford time on the Coast with important primaries coming up in Connecticut and New York.

Money has always been vital to Presidential campaigns but this year's unexpected turns have given even more urgency to the matter of raising and spending it well.

Both Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart face difficulties that they had not anticipated. With his early front-runner status and endorsements, former Vice President Mondale had no trouble raising money. His strategists, counting on a fast knockout to clinch the nomination by April, spent heavily in 1983 on a large organization, competing in straw polls, and maintaining a high profile. By the beginning of this month, Mr. Mondale had outspent Mr. Hart 5 to 1. Federal Election Commission reports showed the Mondale campaign had spent nearly \$17.6 million for all purposes to Mr. Hart's \$3.8 million.

With the nomination in doubt and only about 30 percent of the pledged Democratic convention delegates chosen, the Mondale forces have already spent close to two-thirds of their limit. (Federal law sets a ceiling of \$20.2 million on political spending through the convention. It allows another \$4 million for the expenses of actually raising funds and unlimited funds for legal fees and other costs incurred in complying with the law.) As it moves from the New York primary into Pennsylvania, Texas, New Jersey, Ohio and California as well as a possible battle at the convention, the Mondale camp says it will have \$7 million left, though privately some aides say the figure is even less.

His top aides acknowledge a problem but, after

Meese Nomination Is Held Up While Inquiry Is Sought

Defining the Job of a Special Prosecutor

By STUART TAYLOR JR.

WASHINGTON — A legacy of Watergate is a law, enacted in 1978, that takes from the Attorney General the authority to investigate accusations against certain other senior Federal officials.

Somewhat oddly, the same statute, the Ethics in Government Act, leaves it to the Attorney General to determine when he must yield his authority to an "independent counsel," or special prosecutor. In three pending private lawsuits, Federal judges have faulted Attorney General William French Smith for failing to follow the law's requirements.

Last week, Mr. Smith came under mounting pressure to seek a special prosecutor to look into whether his prospective successor, Presidential Counselor Edwin Meese 3d, had committed Federal crimes when he filed incomplete financial disclosure statements and accepted financial help from people who subsequently got Government jobs.

Even after Mr. Smith ordered a "preliminary investigation" under the 1978 act, new questions about Mr. Meese's finances kept spilling forth.

The law requires that within 90 days after starting such an investigation, the Attorney General must ask a panel of three Federal judges to appoint a special prosecutor, unless he "finds that there are no reasonable grounds to believe that further investigation or prosecution is warranted."

Mr. Smith has made it clear he does not like the special prosecutor provision, which slices into the powers of the executive branch. It is also unpopular with many career Justice Department prosecutors, who resent suggestions that they might pull their punches to please their political bosses.

But Mr. Meese himself, as well as President Reagan and senior members of the Senate Judiciary Committee joined last week in urging the appointment of a special prosecutor.

They reasoned that the Senate could not pass on Mr. Meese's nomination until an investigation seen to be impartial has cleared him.

Subtle pressure comes from rulings by Federal judges over the past year in three unrelated, politically tinged lawsuits, criticizing Mr. Smith's Justice Department. These preliminary rulings, which the department is still contesting, have raised this question: Does a Federal court have authority to force appointment of a special prosecutor when it decides the Attorney General has ignored an obligation to do so?

In a Feb. 29 ruling handed down in Washington, District Judge

Harold H. Greene said the Attorney General had "simply ignored" the 1978 law in ending an eight-month investigation of the transfer of documents from Jimmy Carter's 1980 re-election campaign to the Reagan election staff without either seeking a special prosecutor or reporting to the special three-judge panel.

Judge Stanley A. Weigel of San Francisco ordered Mr. Smith late last year to conduct a preliminary investigation into allegations that top Administration officials had violated a neutrality statute by financing guerrillas fighting the Nicaraguan government.

Earlier, Gerhard A. Gesell, another Washington judge, ordered an inquiry into an alleged coverup of Federal involvement in killings that took place in Greensboro, N.C., in 1979, during a



Associated Press
Edwin Meese 3d

street fight involving members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party.

The Justice Department has argued that neither private litigants nor the judges have the power to second-guess an Attorney General's decisions under the special prosecutor law. Otherwise, the Justice Department warns, the courts would be overwhelmed by suits filed by people using frivolous or politically motivated charges as weapons in a kind of guerrilla warfare against Administration policies.

Department lawyers and some independent authorities predict the appellate courts will eventually rule that no court has power to force appointment of a special prosecutor over the Attorney General's objection.

If so, the skirmishing over whether the courts can require preliminary investigations would serve mainly to intensify the political pressure for appointment of a special prosecutor when allegations are made against an official like Mr. Meese.

However, Judge Greene may think he is more than just a minor player in a political drama. His opinion stressed that, under the Justice Department's interpretation, an Attorney General who was determined to block an investigation of criminal activity by senior Federal officials without seeking a special prosecutor would be accountable to no one.

"The Court is not prepared," the judge said, "to adopt so defeatist a view of a law which had its origins in the dereliction of duty of the highest officers of the Republic and which was intended to prevent their recurrence."

The World

Does Castro's Tone Belie His Offer?

South Africa's campaign for accommodation with its neighbors produced a strong but ambiguous echo last week in Havana. President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola flew in to tell Fidel Castro about his month-old cease-fire accord with Pretoria. They discussed the 25,000 Cuban troops propping up the dos Santos Government and issued a communiqué offering conditions under which the Cubans might be sent home. But their choice of words touched off new confusion about peace prospects in southern Africa.

The communiqué expressed their "admiration and solidarity with the heroic struggle being waged by the people of Namibia and South Africa" against South Africa's "disgraceful apartheid regime." Their "sole and legal representatives," Mr. Castro and Mr. dos Santos added, are the South-West Africa Peoples Organization and African National Congress, groups that have been fighting a low-level guerrilla war against Pretoria for years.

The wording was "unacceptable to the South African Government," Foreign Minister Rieker F. Botha complained, and "starkly contradicts the spirit and letter" of Angola's accord with Pretoria. Soldiers of the joint South African-Angolan monitoring commission, he added, had clashed with the insurgents three times this month. "If the Angolan Government is so strongly committed to solidarity with Swapo's 'heroic' struggle," Mr. Botha said, "then its continued role in the Joint Monitoring Commission makes no sense."

He had no direct comment on conditions set by the leaders in Havana for "gradual withdrawal" of the Cubans — removal of South African troops from Angola, no more aid for Angolan "counterrevolutionaries" and acceptance of United Nations resolutions on independence for South-West Africa.

The Reagan Administration, which has made Cuban troop withdrawal a prerequisite for supporting South-West Africa's independence, seemed undismayed. "If the outcome of the Angolan-Cuban talks is that there is progress being made toward Cuban troop withdrawal," Secretary of State George P. Shultz said, "I think that's a positive sign."

Unsafe Passage In Nicaragua

American-backed rebels, who have been mining Nicaraguan ports, produced a literal and diplomatic blowup last week that further strained relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet oil tanker Lugansk was damaged and six crewmen badly injured at the entrance to Puerto Sandino, 40 miles west of Managua. In a stiff note that held Washington responsible for "banditry and piracy," Moscow said the incident and others involving a Panamanian freighter and a Dutch dredging ship "leave no doubt that they are perpetrated with the direct participation of agencies and persons controlled by the United States Government."

The anti-Sandinistas operate from Honduras and Costa Rica with money and equipment supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency. The State Department rejected Soviet charges of responsibility and said regional tensions had arisen mainly from "Soviet encouragement of conflict in Central America and the Caribbean." At the start of an offi-

cial visit last week, French President François Mitterrand demurred. Urging the United States to allow each of the Central American nations to "find its own path," he told Congress that third world revolution "is rooted first of all in the soil of poverty."

While Nicaragua said it was seeking minesweepers, further maritime tension was created by the arrival in Cuban waters of a Soviet helicopter carrier, the largest Soviet warship yet to appear in the Caribbean, accompanied by a guided-missile destroyer, a submarine and a refueling tanker. With more Soviet warships reported on the way, the Caribbean area promised to be crowded next month after the announcement of large-scale American sea, air and land maneuvers. American military exercises in Honduras were moved up to April 1 from June as a form of pressure on the Salvadoran insurgents and their Nicaraguan backers.

Long C.I.A. involvement in Nicaragua was underlined by a report from Managua that the Government intended to appoint Nora Astorga, a Sandinista heroine, as Ambassador to Washington. Miss Astorga became well known six years ago when, according to her own account, she helped murder a top national guard officer under President Anastasio Somoza Debayle. The officer, who was found dead in her bedroom, was described by American intelligence officials as a C.I.A. "asset." There was opposition in the Administration to accepting Miss Astorga.

Common Market Impasse Remains

The leaders of the Common Market dealt themselves another blow last week. After months of preparatory diplomacy and two days of tumultuous meetings in Brussels, the 10 countries again failed to compromise their differences over cost-sharing. "The Europe of the 10 is not dead," said President François Mitterrand of France, but "the more blows it suffers, the more its health deteriorates and the harder it will be for it to get well."

Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, stood aloof, insisting in London's due. Her country has a relatively weak economy and is obliged to pay more than it gets back from Community budgets. She held out for a \$1.3 billion rebate. Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany blocked a Mitterrand compromise proposal of \$1.25 billion. Italy's Prime Minister Bettino Craxi blamed Mrs. Thatcher for "the paralysis of Europe." And the Greek Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreu, said the organization would be better off with Britain out.

But upon reflection, Eurocrats looked for the brighter side. Gaston Thorn, president of the Common Market Commission, noted some new agreements (to take effect if the budget conflict is settled) that would reduce farm subsidies — "a basic change of direction."

A U-turn, however, was by no means assured. Common Market decisions require unanimous approval. The 10 foreign ministers will be back in Brussels on Tuesday for another try at a budget agreement.

Dublin Extradites A Terrorist

Relations between Britain and Ireland took a sharp turn for the better last week after Dublin's extradition of a much-wanted terrorist to Northern Ireland. For those warring on Britain, it was "a sad day for Irish nationalism" when Dominic McGlinchey was captured in a shootout in County Clare in the Irish Republic and sent across the border to Britain's Royal Ulster Constabulary.

London had not been accustomed to such cooperation from Dublin, where the Government and the courts had long balked at turning over fugitives from Northern Ireland whose terrorism was supposedly motivated by their opposition to British rule. Mr. McGlinchey's political associates called his extradition the act of "a puppet government subservient to Britain."

Mr. McGlinchey, leader of the Irish National Liberation Army, a Marxist splinter of the Irish Republican Army, recently boasted to an Irish newspaper that he had taken part in 30 killings and at least 200 acts of terrorism in Northern Ireland. In approving his extradition hours after his capture, the Irish Supreme Court confirmed an extradition order that had been standing for two years but could not be executed because Mr. McGlinchey had gone into hiding. Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald said the court had decided that some offenses were so grave they could not be considered political. He said it was "a sad kind of nationalism" that considered murder a political offense and tried to prevent the normal process of the law from dealing with it.

Henry Ginzler
and Milt Freudenberg

Salvador Seeking a Way Out in Vote Today

El Salvador will vote for a President today. The effort to establish democratic procedures and institutions in a country racked by leftist and rightist violence, begun with the election of a Constituent Assembly two years ago, has enjoyed the backing of the Reagan Administration but has met with skepticism in Congress and in much of Latin America, where critics have held that nothing is possible until there is a consensus to end the strife. Last week, such consensus was conspicuously absent as the insurgents sought to discourage voters up to the last moment by setting their identity cards, threatening to mine roads and destroying power lines. The skepticism was reflected in a decision by the Senate, accepted by the Administration, to put off a vote on further emergency aid until after the election and to reduce the amount from \$93 million to \$61.75 million. Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who blocked the Administration drive for a quick vote, said the money would be better used "when we see what kind of regime we are dealing with." Up to now, the Senator and other critics have seen the regime as less than democratic and as closely involved in rightist death squads. One target has been Col. Nicolás Carranza, the head of the Salvadoran Treasury Police, which has a reputation for being particularly brutal. He was said by American officials to have been in the pay, at \$90,000 a year, of the Central Intelligence Agency but he denied such a connection.

For clues to what El Salvador's future might be like under a new President, Lydia Chavez, The New York Times correspondent in San Salvador, conducted separate interviews last week with the three leading candidates — José Napoleón Duarte of the Christian Democratic Party, Roberto d'Aubuisson of the far-right Nationalist Republican Alliance (Arena) and Francisco José Guerrero of the conservative National Conciliation Party. Excerpts follow.

Which Path Toward Peace?

Question: How do you propose to end the war?

Mr. Duarte: The Government must have enough political will, enough guts, to confront the main causes of violence, which I would describe as four: cultural, institutional, Nazi-Fascist violence, and subversive violence. To deal with the subversive violence, we first have to deal with the first three types because they are the main reason for the insurgency. As soon as we get into power we will start dealing with these three, but at the same time we will call on the subversive violence to understand that democracy is not a weak structure, that we are doing what has to be done in this country, and that we are ready to open up a national dialogue to give a political place to all the sectors. Whether they (the left) will accept that or not is their decision.

Mr. d'Aubuisson: The plan of subversion that we are fighting against needs the support of the people to triumph. Remember, there is a saying of Mao Zedong that people are to guerrillas what water is to the fish. The Salvadoran people have not supported the Marxist scheme. The reaction of the people has been, in a passive way, to repudiate them. None of the past governments has come to power with a direct vote. In these elections whoever wins will win as a direct expression of the Salvadoran people. One of the proposals that all of the parties has made is to bring peace. Arena has set forth the following proposal to win peace: return the country to production and work. Our government program is to work with private initiative and with the support of free enterprise. The moment that unemployment diminishes, this goes against the guerrillas, because as long as there is unemployment, there is more opportunity for people to go with the guerrillas.

Dealing With The Leftists

Mr. Guerrero: We in the National Conciliation Party propose the following formula: First, amnesty. Second, a reorganization of the (Government) Peace Commission, expanding it to include representatives of the church, unions, university and professional associations, representatives from the private sector, and a representative from each party that obtained more than 25 percent of the vote. This commission would establish the mechanisms and procedures to give guarantees, security, and protection to those elements of the subversion that put down their arms and want to participate in elections for deputies and mayors in 1985. I hope to have the Peace Commission reorganized in the first 90 days of my government, but it will not be easy. There will be much confusion and much criticism after the elections. Remember that passions always remain high after an election, and we have to see that the passions are calmed. But with the Peace Commission working, I believe that in six months we can have a plan prepared to propose for the elections of April 1985.

Q. How does this differ from Mr. Duarte's plan?

Mr. Guerrero: He would initiate a direct dialogue (with the left) and we would do it through a representative commission that would be credible to the insurgents but would not seek to share power.

Mr. d'Aubuisson: Not at any moment will I permit (negotiations) because this means not

Q & A: Top Three Presidential Candidates



José Napoleón Duarte

'We are ready to open a national dialogue to give a place to all sectors.'



Roberto d'Aubuisson

'Human rights prohibits the army from winning against the subversives by using similar tactics.'



Francisco José Guerrero

'Abuses of power of civilian and military officials would be dealt with in drastic terms.'

Gemma-Lisano / Roland Neven (Duarte and d'Aubuisson); Sygma / Claude Urrutia

believing in the democratic process. You cannot give a share of power to any armed delinquent just because he is armed and sets off bombs.

Q. What role will the military play and how will you handle it?

Mr. Duarte: The army will have to have its own responsibility, according to the constitution, to support the democratic Government. I will not accept any attempts to use force in any direction against the people or against the Government.

Coup Threats Discounted

Mr. d'Aubuisson: The armed forces in general will feel that they have much more support than they have now with a government that comes to power on a popular vote with the determination to win peace. This is a dirty war. (The guerrillas) are waging it with all types of arms, I am referring to secret acts, using citizens, setting off bombs, using the civilians who support them, and attacking with their civilian support. The soldier has to fight a clean fight. Human rights prohibits the army from winning against the subversives by using similar tactics.

Mr. Guerrero: The abuses of power of civilian and military officials would be dealt with in drastic terms. We believe the principle of authority is undermined by abuses. The Constitution has given us the appropriate mechanisms for dealing with these abuses.

Q. It has been suggested that if Mr. Duarte wins there will be a coup, but that if Mr. d'Aubuisson wins it will happen much faster. Do you agree?

Mr. Duarte: I am optimistic. First of all I see very little possibility that Mr. d'Aubuisson will win. And I see very little possibility of the right succeeding in a coup d'état to stop us from taking office. If it comes from the extreme right it is impossible because they will have maybe 20 or so military people against hundreds that will not accept a coup d'état. They cannot take any action that will leave them all by themselves. That would be almost suicide for the army. The army knows it and will not do it.

Mr. d'Aubuisson: I don't know who said this, but you have to respect everyone's point of view, and if that is what they want to do, let them do it. I will fulfill my mission with my beliefs, as a citizen that believes in Arena.

Q. Suppose a year goes by and the civil war continues. What would you do? Would you ask for American troops?

Mr. Duarte: No. If we have not found the answer internally, then we would have to present a complete package — military, economic, political and social — to the world and to international banks. What I would try to do is to present the plan on the basis of a move toward democracy. The difference is that the aid up to this moment has been interpreted (in the

United States) as aid that is being given to a Government without a tendency to respect people. That is a reason why there has been an internal conflict in the United States. We must establish a democratic government and if the trend in the army is also toward democracy, then the idea of (El Salvador) in the United States will also have to change so that it will be like giving aid to West Germany, Canada, Costa Rica or to any of the democratic countries of the world.

Mr. d'Aubuisson: It's possible that it will continue. It can continue because (the guerrillas) can return to past phases of the war when the subversives first emerged. They began in small secret groups that only kidnapped and carried out assassinations. It could be that they will abandon their armed fight, but return to infiltration, to mobilize unions, to kidnap and to carry out urban terrorism. Then we will try to see the procedures we will follow. I cannot envisage circumstances in which I would ask for American troops because (the subversives) will never be able to win.

Q. What plans do you have for reforms?

Mr. Duarte: We have to start from the point we left when we ended the Junta Government. This means consolidating the first phase of the reforms. I have signed a pact with the social sectors and with the campesinos to let the workers be integrated in all sections of the institutions in which they have an interest. The campesinos themselves will be participating in making the decisions so that no one will try and do something against them.

Mr. d'Aubuisson: On agrarian reform, I believe we have already defined our position. It was due to Arena that we have Article 105 in our constitution that guarantees agrarian reform.

Steps Toward Land Reform

Mr. Guerrero: We would support and try to improve the three phases of the agrarian reform. As for the first phase of agrarian reform (the large cooperatives), we would try to consolidate it and give more financial and technical support to the cooperatives. For the second stage, the Constitution already establishes what has to be done, and we would try to comply with the order of the Constitution. In the third stage, we would respect the rights of the beneficiaries who have claimed their land, but we would not continue (taking new beneficiaries) because we believe that the third phase has already fulfilled its objective. As for the bank reforms, we would maintain the nationalized banking system, but to create competition, we would permit, under certain rules, the functioning of a private national and international bank. We would also create a bank for workers. As for foreign sales of coffee and sugar, we would revise the structure of the state organization to allow the producers and other sectors involved to participate.



Nora Astorga

No Improvement Is Expected Before United States and Israeli Elections

Path to Mideast Failure Blazed With Mistakes

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON — Donald H. Rumsfeld is touring the Middle East these days on what may well be his last mission as President Reagan's special envoy to the region. Instead of brokering a diplomatic initiative, which was his original mandate three months ago, he is telling the Israelis and the Arabs that Washington is moving to the sidelines. The message is this: America has made an honorable effort to bring stability to Lebanon and peace to the region, but there is not much more it can do now without more cooperation from them.

"I think somehow or other we have to get over this notion that every time things don't go just to everybody's satisfaction in the Middle East, it's the U.S.'s fault or it's up to the U.S. to do something about it," Secretary of State George P. Shultz said in exasperation the other day. "We are active. We will help, but others must come forward as well."

There was no help from Lebanon's warring factions, whose reconciliation talks in Lausanne, Switzerland, broke down last week. Druse militiamen and Libyan-backed Sunni Moslems, allies in the fight against the Lebanese Army, began to fight each other. French troops, the last of the multinational peacekeepers, were due to pull out shortly.

Some of the harm to American interests in the Middle East appears to have been self-inflicted by the Administration, and much seems due to others. Law and order broke down in Lebanon under relentless Syrian-backed pressure. In early February, the American marines, a symbol of involvement in the region, were withdrawn in such haste that American standing dropped throughout the Middle East. The carefully crafted Lebanese-Israeli agreement worked out by Mr. Shultz last May was abrogated by President Amin Gemayel apparently as his payment to the Syrians to stay in power.

Simultaneously, the American hope of promoting a return to Arab-Israeli diplomacy on the basis of President Reagan's highly publicized initiative of Sept. 1, 1982, also perished. The coup de grace was given by King Hussein of Jordan, the moody friend of the West, who decided that in an election year the Administration would not force Israel to make enough concessions to warrant his taking risks.

In Israel, the inability to put a brake on skyrocketing inflation and the general political malaise in Jerusalem are forcing the Shamir Government to hold elections this year instead of next. That means that Israel will not be interested in taking any dramatic diplomatic risks of its own before there is a new government.

The Reagan Administration demonstrated its own inability to control events at home by bowing to Congressional pressures to kill an announced sale of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The political surrender was carried out by Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the No. 3 State Department official, who tried vainly to negotiate concessions from the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, known as Aipac, the chief pro-Israel lobby. Mr. Eagleburger had sought to exchange dropping the Stinger sale in return for Aipac's agreement to use its influence to kill a pending bill that would move the embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

All that Aipac would promise was that it would show understanding for the Administration's fears that passage of the Jerusalem bill could provoke Moslem believers into an anti-American rampage. The bill may be watered down to make it nonbinding on the Administration.

The President's Role

After putting so much diplomatic capital into the Middle East, how had the Administration come to the point where it had to forgo initiatives, thus breaking with the pattern set since the 1967 war?

A large part of the blame has been placed by critics on Mr. Reagan for not giving enough attention to the Middle East when it needed direct Presidential involvement in the last few months. On the crucial decision between pulling the marines out of Lebanon hastily, as urged by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, or keeping the

marines there as a symbol of determination, as advocated by Mr. Shultz, Mr. Reagan went along with the Pentagon without any seeming recognition of the effect a precipitate move might have on the Middle East. Some responsibility is also being placed on Mr. Shultz for not moving forcefully enough in late 1982 to bring about the Israeli-Lebanese accord when the post-invasion mood favored a comprehensive diplomatic approach.

But the Administration has not been slow to point the finger also. It has blamed Congress, for example, for being so inconsistent and, in the end, so unsupportive of the Administration as to weaken it in its dealing with both the Israelis and the Arabs.

Mr. Gemayel was so reluctant to share power with his rivals that when he at last offered to do so, it was too late. The Syrians promised to withdraw if Israel agreed to do so, and then reneged, after Mr. Shultz achieved the agreement. The Israelis, who breathed fire when they invaded Lebanon, lost heart at a crucial point last year, and pulled some troops out without waiting for Syria to do the same, in effect fortifying Syria's obduracy. The Arabs as a group failed to weigh in with the P.L.O. to let King Hussein negotiate with Israel last year when the opportunity beckoned. The Jordanian leader again showed that he was cautious in dealing with the Israelis. But when he lashed out at Congress, he lost any chance of getting the Stingers this year.

With elections due in the United States and Israel, there undoubtedly will be new pressures early next year, no matter who is President, to move again into Middle East diplomacy, provided another war has not taken place before then.

Interest Payment Default Looms

Bankers See Slow Progress Conquering Argentina's Debt

By LEONARD SILK

BUENOS AIRES — Representatives of 330 American banks that are struggling to work out a deal with Argentina face the unpleasant likelihood that agreement will not be reached by the March 30 deadline. If President Raúl Alfonsín's Government does not come up with \$810 million, the banks will have to admit that nearly \$10 billion in loans are "nonperforming." That means the banks would have to deduct the accrued interest from their earnings for the last six months.

Failure to come up with the back interest due to Western and Japanese banks, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other creditors would reduce Argentina's already poor credit standing. But President Alfonsín and Economics Minister Bernardo Grinspun are determined to get the best deal they can to refinance the \$47 billion foreign debt and obtain more funds. In an interview, Mr. Grinspun said Argentina needed a new "Marshall Plan" to climb out of the economic and financial chaos left by decades of military and Peronist rule.

Some left-of-center economists, such as Aldo Ferrer, president of the state-owned Bank of the Province of Buenos Aires, compare Argentina with Germany after World War I, when the Versailles Treaty and the efforts of Allied Governments to collect reparations sowed economic and financial disaster, created mass unemployment and helped to bring Adolf Hitler to power. They are pleading for financial support for Argentina's new democracy, lest it go the way of the Weimar Republic.

But the comparison is disputed by many conservative economists in the United States and Argentina, a

land, they note, of enormous resources. They say the basic problem is galloping inflation — 436 percent in the past 12 months and accelerating. Last month, consumer prices increased 17 percent — 658 percent at a compound annual rate. When the Government then banned the slaughter and sale of beef, other food prices took a further upward lurch.

Whatever the merits of large-scale international schemes to pump in more money, they do not appear to be in the cards. The Reagan Administration, which had persuaded Argentine military Governments to train right-wing Nicaraguan insurgents, infuriated nearly everyone here two years ago by supporting Britain in the Falkland Islands war. Now Washington is hailing the democratic Government of Mr. Alfonsín's Radical Party. But significant American assistance seems unlikely in view of the Administration's own huge budget deficits, Congressional resistance to foreign aid and the fear that an Argentine rescue operation would be a costly precedent for other debtor countries.

Inflation-Fighting Comes First

The banks, with huge debts elsewhere, are not eager to appear to go soft on Argentina, although they, too, are talking sympathetically about the restoration of democracy and human rights. Argentine bankers hope that, in the long run, the experiment with democracy will bolster political and economic stability.

"In the short run, we probably would have done better with the Peronist Party," a senior banker said, "but in the long run we will be better off with the Radicals." American bankers also seem inclined to go along. "Taking a hit" over the nonpayment of interest due this month will be painful, a top bank official conceded, but "it won't be the end of the world."

Nevertheless, they are pressing Buenos Aires to draw on reserves to pay some of the interest it owes. American official sources said Argentine gold and foreign exchange reserves totaled \$3.3 billion in December. But Mr. Grinspun insisted the reserves were already too low. His priority is to curb inflation — in a way that will restore growth to the economy. President Alfonsín believes that austerity of the sort visited on other inflation- and debt-racked countries by the International Monetary Fund would be destabilizing and might hand the country back to a military-Peronist alliance.

As grim as things look, both the Government and its foreign bankers say that for the long haul, Argentina is a good bet and that the restoration of confidence is crucial. Argentines, fearful of domestic inflation and the plummeting peso, hold \$25 billion to \$40 billion abroad, diplomats estimated. If confidence could be restored, a sizable proportion of these dollars might fly home to strengthen the economy.

But confidence in the Government's economic capability has wavered, as indicated by the black market for dollars, which the Argentines have adopted as a kind of surrogate currency of their own. In mid-October, when the military Government was on the point of disintegrating, a spread between the official rate of the peso in dollars and the black market rate was 74 percent. After Mr. Alfonsín's election on Oct. 30, confidence soared; the gap narrowed to 10 percent in December. Since then, anxiety has deepened over the slow and ineffectual conduct of fiscal and monetary policy, and the spread has again surpassed 80 percent.

Mr. Grinspun, believing inflation is the fundamental problem, is trying to reduce the enormous budget deficit, which last year amounted to 17 percent of the gross national product, to 8 percent for 1984. But heavy resistance to cutting military and Government payrolls will make it hard to hit that target.

Meanwhile, inflation rolls on and the bankers nervously wait for their money. The International Monetary Fund is insisting on a "letter of intent" outlining the Government's internal and foreign economic intentions. And the Peronist unions are growing restless and aggressive. But Mr. Alfonsín retains strong support from the business community and others sick of the excesses of the past. Democracy and decency are his strongest cards.

Executive Branch Bristles



By Owen Franken

Congress Draws Itself Into Foreign Policy Formulation

By CLYDE FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON — Congress, acting under its constitutional powers to regulate foreign commerce and appropriate money, has been invading the foreign economic policy domain of the executive branch. This has brought it into increasing conflict with the President and the Secretary of State and has upset many foreign capitals.

Complaining about the expanding overseas reach of American laws and growing confusion about who speaks for the United States, foreign governments have increased their lobbying, sometimes even with State Department encouragement. "State tells us to fight our battles ourselves with Congress," a foreign official said. "Our contacts with Congress have definitely increased," said Ella Krucoff, a Common Market spokesman, adding that Congressional aides are "seeking us out more." As a Senate-House conference committee debated export control legislation last week, Japan, Canada, Australia and the 10-nation Common Market were waging an unusual, coordinated lobbying campaign against provisions they regarded as potentially harmful.

Examples of Congressional economic strictures abound. Showing its antipathy for South Africa's apartheid system, the House recently voted to impose fair labor practices, notably black access to management posts, on the 330 American companies that employ 127,000 workers there. The Senate voted to punish foreign companies that violate American export controls by barring their products from the United States — even if they are in compliance with laws in their own countries. Both Houses have restricted foreign aid; funds cannot be shifted from Kenya to Sudan, for instance, without legislative authorization. And in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and similar agencies, the United States is under Congressional orders to oppose loans to Vietnam, Cambodia and Cuba and to vote against certain projects such as steel mills and copper mines.

The White House, for its part, has served notice that it will try to prevent further encroachments. It has ticked off a dozen provisions of the controls legislation (formally known as the Export Administration Act) as items that, if left in, would bring a veto. "Veto-bait" topics included apartheid, nuclear proliferation and high-technology exports to China and Western Europe. "There's now a gridlock between the President and Congress," said Myer Rashish, an economic consultant who is a former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He sees the restrictions as part of the "post-Vietnam, post-Watergate challenge to executive authority in foreign policy." He added, "More and more the business of foreign policy is economics."

The sponsors, however, have stoutly defended their proposals. The United States should use its corporate presence to counter South African racism, said Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, who sponsored the anti-apartheid amendment. And the Senate Banking Committee chairman, Jake Garn, Republican of Utah, argued that tougher export controls and a broader reach for American law were needed to help the Europeans "learn their lesson."

"For a mess of pottage, for a few jobs, they are willing to sell most anything they can sell to anybody without regard to security," Senator Garn contended during Senate floor debate. "It is easy to see why they were lured into World War I and World War II," he added, "So to put it bluntly, the hell with the Europeans until they come around a little bit to our way of thinking."

Growing Interdependence

But others saw the incursions into foreign policy-making as sometimes injurious to American interests. "This bifurcation is a big problem for the United States in a world of growing interdependence," said C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics and a former Assistant Secretary of Treasury. Because the American Congress and executive branch are separate and independent, the people on the other side of the bargaining table can go over the heads of United States negotiators. "It puts us at a great disadvantage, compared with other countries with parliamentary democracies (where policies are usually carried out by leaders directly answerable to parliament)," he added. "They are as good democracies as we are, but they are more effective in international negotiations." Alexander B. Trowbridge, president of the National Association of Manufacturers and a former Secretary of Commerce, said that the United States ends up "shooting itself in the foot." Citing Senate efforts to restrict high technology exports, he argued that "to limit market access for our most competitive companies more than we already do may be tantamount to economic suicide."

The United States is no longer the insular power it was throughout much of its history. In the last 10 years, the percentage of the gross national product involved in trade has doubled, to more than 20 percent. Each \$1 billion added to exports generates 40,000 jobs. But greater exposure to the world economy has brought increased vulnerability. Some political scientists question whether Congress, entangled in the web of special interests and preoccupied with re-election prospects, should have so important a role in foreign economic policy. As Robert Pastor of the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs put it, "The failure of Congress to take a broad and long view puts the nation at risk."

Argentines exchanging pesos for dollars in Buenos Aires.



Runaway Inflation

Argentine pesos to the dollar

Official rate

Black market rate

March 1980
March 1981
March 1982

2,500
2,500
2,500

May 1982 Falklands war

2,500

March 1983
June 1983
Oct. 14, 1983

2,500
2,500
2,500

Oct. 30, 1983 Argentina election
Dec. 15, 1983
March 23, 1984

2,500
2,500
2,500

Source: Desk-Perera International

Seeking to Restore Magic at VW

Chairman Carl Hahn gambles on the Golf II to restore profits.

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

BOLFSBURG, WEST GERMANY — Before dawn each day, a Volkswagen employee pulls up to Carl Hahn's white stucco villa in a suburb of Wolfsburg and delivers one of the company's shiny new cars — a different model each morning. Mr. Hahn test drives the cars as he commutes to work.

That's a new and unusual routine for the chairman of Volkswagenwerk A.G., the giant auto maker. A chauffeur limousine goes with the job, but Mr. Hahn has put that perk aside for a while to make what he undoubtedly considers better use of the morning commute to VW headquarters, five miles from his home in a Wolfsburg suburb.

Even when he travels abroad, the 57-year-old chairman pursues his new, hands-on interest in the driving qualities of various cars. In Detroit, for example, he'll rent a Ford or Plymouth at the airport. In Tokyo, it's usually a Mazda or Toyota.

"I'm trying to learn the strengths and weaknesses of all these cars to see what we can do better," Mr. Hahn said. That may be. But Mr. Hahn's burst of restless test driving also appears to reflect the nervousness and urgency that has crept into VW management as the giant auto maker tries to put together a strategy that will turn a profit — at last.

Volkswagen's earnings started to decline in 1979 and the company has been losing money for the past eight quarters, which is most of the period that Mr. Hahn has been chairman. He was hired away from Continental Gummi-Werke, a tire maker, in 1981 to bring about a turnaround in VW that might restore some of the magic the company had with the Beetle in the 1960's and 1970's.

So far, Mr. Hahn has failed. But he's counting on success in 1984, which, he says, "is a key year for

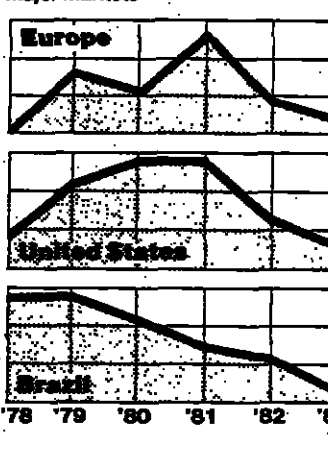


Chairman Carl Hahn and the Golf II model.

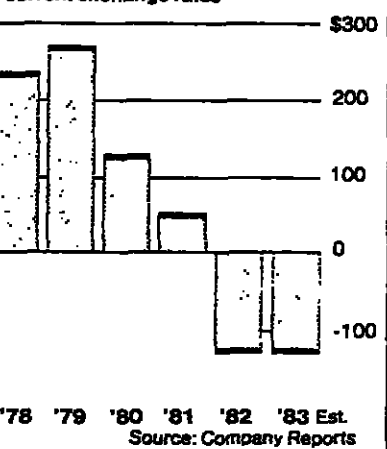


VW in Crisis

Falling Market Share
Volkswagen's share of three major markets



Heavy Losses
Net income, in millions of dollars at current exchange rates



me." To finally turn a profit this year, Mr. Hahn, a formal, reserved man, has been trying to cut costs. But above all he's gambling Volkswagen's fortunes on the success of a new, mid-priced compact, the Golf II, that was introduced in Europe late last year and will be shown in the

United States for the first time in the fall. It won't be sold outside Europe and America until 1985 at the earliest.

The four-door Golf II looks very much like the Rabbit, which hasn't sold well in VW's important American market and is to be discontinued this summer. But the advertising

campaign for the Golf will be different than the advertising for the Rabbit, and Mr. Hahn is counting on that difference to achieve his sales goals.

In essence, the American advertising will convey the impression that the Golf is a high-quality, made-in-Germany product, just as the Beetle was. The Rabbit, on the other hand, was promoted in the United States as American-made, assembled at VW's plant in Westmoreland, Pa. The Golf is also to be assembled at Westmoreland — but that won't be mentioned in the ads.

Will the Golf sell, justifying Mr. Hahn's strategy? Well, initial sales in Germany have been strong, but the car's popularity elsewhere in Europe remains unclear. And the auto editors at Stern Magazine aren't convinced it will be a big success. "From an engineering point of view, the Golf II is indeed a fabulous car," they wrote recently. "But it's in a boring package."

Even if the Golf manages to earn a profit for VW, the company's once-vaunted pre-eminence might be irretrievable, despite Mr. Hahn's efforts. That is because of the marketing ideas that have been made over the years by less expensive Japanese and American cars. Even Volkswagen's domination of German car sales is threatened these days, mostly by the rising popularity in this country of Ford cars and the General Motors Opel.

Thus far, Mr. Hahn's cost-cutting efforts haven't produced great results. In general, each new VW continues to be about \$1,300 more expensive to produce than similar Japanese models, and slightly more costly than many American cars. That's because two-thirds of the company's worldwide production of 2.1 million vehicles last year came from the Volkswagen factories around Wolfsburg, and the factories here are high-wage operations that push up the cost of making a car. Mr. Hahn is automating some of these plants, spending billions on robots, but union resistance and the West German Government's minority stake in Volkswagen ownership prevent layoffs. The chairman is also negotiating joint venture agreements to shift more car production to less-costly facilities abroad, even to China.

Lately, the focus of Mr. Hahn's effort has shifted to the marketing of the Golf II, which is being promoted

The Economy

even in Europe as if it were somehow comparable in quality to the Beetle, that oddly-shaped product of German engineering skill that eclipsed the Model T Ford as the industry's all-time best seller.

As the Beetle's popularity began to decline in the mid-1970's (it is made today only in Mexico and Brazil), the Golf I was introduced and it set the pace for a generation of fuel-efficient hatchbacks, bringing healthy profits to VW until 1979. The Golf II, unveiled at the Frankfurt auto show last fall, is larger outside and roomier inside than its predecessor, but virtually unchanged in style. VW says the startling changes are in beneath-the-skin technology, such as greater fuel efficiency, smoother handling and more sophisticated extras, like central door locking systems, power windows and air conditioning.

Fully equipped, the Golf sells in Germany for the equivalent of \$6,494. That's about the same price as the similar Opel Kadette, but \$200 more than the Ford Escort and \$400 above comparable Japanese cars, like the Mitsubishi Colt.

The Golf II's price in Germany is roughly equal to that of the Rabbit in the United States. The Rabbit was styled for the American market. The Golf II, on the other hand, will roll off the assembly line at Westmoreland, Pa., looking nearly identical to the Golf sold in Germany, although the pricing might be higher. To reinforce the German identification, the American-made car will be called the Golf, the German name, rather than the Rabbit or some other American adaptation.

So far, Mr. Hahn is being given a free hand by VW's directors to work his strategy. Even the unions representing VW employees have remained relatively quiet, despite the threat of eventual layoffs that factory automation here has posed.

"If anyone can do the job, it's probably Carl Hahn," one analyst said. "But this will probably be the biggest test he's ever faced."

VW lost \$117 million worldwide in 1982 — chiefly because of big operating deficits in the United States and Brazil, its major overseas operations. Last year, the worldwide loss was \$96.6 million through the first three quarters, and the full-year loss — to be announced in May — is expected to match 1982's, despite a 7 percent rise in sales, to an estimated \$15.6 billion. If the new Golf II and the cost-cutting fail to improve earnings in 1984, Mr. Hahn is likely to come under public criticism from shareholders and also from VW executives, some of whom resent him anyway for his autocratic management style.

Mr. Hahn, who runs the VW empire from a plainly furnished office in the glass-and-aluminum headquarters building here, argues that he has found the solution to VW's sales lag in a continuation of his price-cutting efforts and in the marketing of the Golf as a mid-priced, well-engineered compact. In fact, Mr. Hahn said that American buyers helped to convince him of the marketing potential for top-quality, made-in-Germany vehicles. That happened late last year, he said, when the strong dollar made auto exports profitable, and Americans bought up the hundreds of luxury Audis that VW shipped to the United States. They did so while sales languished for VW's American-made Rabbit.

"The people who bought the Beetle were customers with a very high education level," Mr. Hahn argues. "They liked its driving qualities. It is the same today, and the market for

highly engineered cars like the Golf is large and attractive."

The VW chairman is also pursuing a policy of expanding overseas production of the company's cars, to replace imports of the more expensive German-made vehicles. Currently, Brazil and the United States are the major VW manufacturing centers outside Germany, but new joint-venture agreements are changing this.

To crack the protected Spanish market, for example, VW signed agreements with S.E.A.T., the Spanish auto maker, that permitted VW to begin production last year of its subcompact Polo model in Spain. This year, both companies will begin assembly of the larger Passat and Santana models. Production of 120,000 to 130,000 cars a year is planned.

In Japan, VW agreed with Nissan last year to begin joint production of 60,000 Santana sedans a year, for dis-

AT A GLANCE

Volkswagenwerk

All dollar amounts in thousands, except per share data

Six months ended	1983	1982
June 30		
Revenues	\$7,530,000	\$7,490,000
Net income	(55,100)	23,600
Year ended		
Dec. 31		
Revenues	\$15,426,000	\$15,809,000
Net income	(123,629)	56,040

Main Lines of Business

Contribution to 1982 revenues

Automobile production	95%
Office equipment	5%

Total assets, Dec. 31, 1982: \$10,630,000

Current assets	5,757,000
Current liabilities	3,908,000
Long-term debt	578,999
Employees, Dec. 31, 1982	229,116
Headquarters	Wolfsburg, West Germany (GDR)

tribution in Japan and the Far East. Talks are under way with China to assemble the Santana at a factory in Shanghai, and with East Germany to deliver light trucks and an engine assembly plant. The engines turned out at the plant would be shipped to VW factories here in exchange for the trucks.

Above all, Mr. Hahn is concentrating on autos and not attempting more of the diversification that led Volkswagen in 1978 to purchase its much-touted Triumph-Adler office machine subsidiary from Litton Industries. That operation has been a disappointment for Mr. Hahn, although Triumph-Adler's loss of just under \$28 million last year was about half the 1982 loss. But new competition in office machines is coming today from Olivetti, Phillips, I.B.M. and A.T. & T., and Triumph-Adler is struggling to respond by replacing its aging product line with new electronic typewriters and computer systems.

Much of VW's auto strategy is solely of Mr. Hahn's making, according to analysts and VW officials. He is described by some of his executives, and by outsiders, as an autocrat in a Volkswagen culture where decisions had traditionally been based on dialogue and consensus. As a result of his style, the autonomy of the company's major overseas units has been reined in, creating a new, more tightly controlled management.

"He's a very hard worker, but not so capable of consensus," was how one businessman who knows Mr. Hahn described the chairman.

Doing Business in El Salvador

By FRED S. DEAKLEY

SAN SALVADOR

CITIBANK'S retail branch here is now lodged on the second floor of an office building on Boulevard de los Héroes. Siegfried Guth, general manager, says the bank left its more accessible first-floor office a few years ago after it had been "decorated" twice by terrorist bombs.

Harlow Newton Jr., head of the American Chamber of Commerce of El Salvador, estimates that his own importing business would be at least 30 percent higher if the Salvador central bank would free up more foreign exchange.

And the president of a major American food company plans to expand his joint venture with one of the new agricultural cooperatives to grow canteloupes, but first he has to teach the Salvadorans the rudiments of good farm management.

Business — as life — goes on in this Central American nation, which has for more than four years been ravaged by social revolution and economic chaos. Where once some 70 manufacturing subsidiaries or sales divisions of American corporations operated, now only about three dozen

remain. And the task of managing a multinational corporation has lately taken on a new air of tension, as left-wing terrorists have stepped up their attempts to disrupt the Presidential election, scheduled for Sunday.

Once again, bomb blasts can be heard at dusk and dawn around the capital as rebels dynamite electrical towers and Government forces attempt to dislodge rebel camps from the distant hills. And fears that the city itself will become as unsafe as it was in the early 1980's are returning because of such isolated incidents as the firebombings of three Shell Oil gas stations earlier this month.

Nevertheless, for the foreign companies that have managed to persist during the years of civil strife, operations have continued to be moderately profitable. And, in recent months, despite the recent fireworks, demand for their products seems to have picked up locally and throughout most of Central America. American executives are now saying that the Salvadoran economy has bottomed out, the worst is over — and they seem gingerly optimistic about the future.

"We are here to stay; it's a matter of adjusting to circumstances," said

Mr. Guth, Citibank's branch manager. He added that after the elections are over, he plans to open more branches in the capital and possibly in other cities as well.

Indeed, most businessmen expect that the five-year mandate of the new President — who will be the first popularly elected Salvadoran head of state in more than 50 years — will be good for business. The current President, Alvaro Magaña, has held only an interim position since his appointment by the Salvadoran constituent assembly in early 1982. And if the transition goes smoothly, the new President could give a new sense of stability to the outside world, said Mr. Newton of the Chamber of Commerce.

Still, the personal safety and protection of executives and workers of American multinational corporations operating in El Salvador continues to be a major concern. As one executive put it, "For several years now the left has not bothered us much. But we never know when we might become a target again."

During 1979 and 1980 a number of foreign-owned factories were destroyed and several executives were either kidnapped or held hostage.

After that, scores of companies pulled up their Salvadoran stakes.

And most of the foreign concerns that did remain called their managers home, replacing them with Salvadorans. The American Chamber of Commerce here estimates that total investment in plants and equipment by American companies has dropped to \$50 million from \$150 million since the war began. And those companies that stayed, did so because they did not want to abandon their market share and their invested capital.

To minimize risk, American managers and most leading Salvadoran businessmen reside and work behind heavily guarded walls. Often their office complexes do not have any identifying emblem, and they are adamant about not allowing pictures of themselves or their facilities.

Personal safety is only one of the tribulations. Perhaps the most nettlesome business problem for American companies continues to be the scarcity of foreign exchange needed to import foreign machinery or goods. Although some say the situation has improved over the past six months, delays in receiving central bank approval for letters of credit can take months.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Banks Finally Raise the Prime Rate

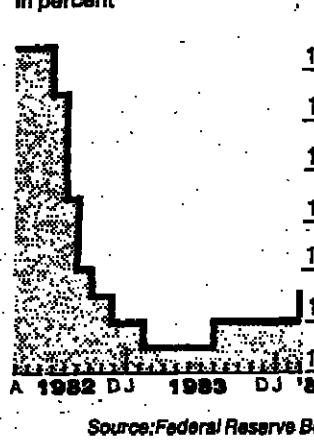
The upward push of interest rates finally forced the nation's banks to lift the prime lending rate for the first time since last August. Bankers said the one-half percentage point increase, to 11 1/2 percent, was justified in light of the rising cost of their own funds on the credit markets. And some expressed concern that the prime could go substantially higher. If the grim predictions were to come true, it would further aggravate third world debt problems, threaten to abort current economic growth and trouble the still-shaky thrift industry. Reaction from the White House was placing the blame for rising rates on the Congress, urging adoption of President Reagan's \$150 billion budget cut proposals. The prime is currently at the highest level since January 1983.

Reaction in the stock market was predictable — share prices fell through most of the week as investors continued to fear the effects of higher interest rates. The Dow Jones industrial average lost almost 30 points, ending at 1,154.84. Bond prices also fell moderately. Late in the week, the Federal Reserve reported that M-1, the basic measure of the money supply, jumped an unexpected \$4 billion.

The economy was humming in the first quarter, according to the Commerce Department's "flash" report

Prime Rate

Month-end prime lending rate, in percent



Source: Federal Reserve Board

on inflation-adjusted gross national product growth. Real G.N.P., based on firm figures for January and partial figures for February, rose at a 7.2 percent annual rate, almost equalling last year's strong third quarter 7.6 percent jump, and substantially ahead of the fourth-quarter's 5 percent rise. For some economists, the numbers indicated the Federal Reserve would be obligated to put the breaks on the economy, while Commerce Secretary Baldrige described the quarter's strength as a "temporary acceleration." Meanwhile, inflation continued to remain under con-

trol, as the Consumer Prices Index rose four-tenths of one percent in February.

Other statistics indicated a moderating of economic expansion. Consumer spending fell seven-tenths of one percent in February, the first such drop in seven months, while orders for durable goods — products meant to last three or more years — fell 1.2 percent, the first drop since last July.

J. Paul McGrath and the Justice Department accepted an amended merger agreement from the LTV Corporation and the Republic Steel Corporation. Thus, the antitrust chief ended a bitter controversy within the Reagan Cabinet on the merger of the No. 3 and No. 4 steel companies, which the department had opposed in February. Under the amended accord, Republic will sell both its Gadsden, Ala., and Massillon, Ohio, plants, a move Mr. McGrath said would eliminate any antitrust violations. He added that acceptance of the \$770 million deal was not a result of caving in to pressure from other Cabinet members, particularly Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige and Trade Representative Bill Brock. Mr. Baldrige said he was pleased.

Social and Gulf can relax a bit about their proposed \$13.2 billion merger.

Senator J. Bennett Johnston withdrew his bill that would have imposed a moratorium on big oil mergers retroactive to Feb. 28. In addition to the Social-Gulf combination, the legislation would also have affected Mobil's proposed takeover of Superior Oil for \$5.7 billion. Political pressure was cited by the Louisiana Democrat for why he decided to draft new legislation that would impose the moratorium beginning March 21. "We can also count votes," the Senator said.

In other merger activity, the Reliance Insurance Corporation, controlled by financier Saul Steinberg, disclosed it was studying whether to seek control of the Quaker State Oil Refining Corporation. Reliance currently owns 1.96 million Quaker State shares, or 8.9 percent, but said it might seek additional stock to total a 20 percent interest. Based on current market prices, Quaker's 22 million outstanding shares are worth about \$350 million.

Walt Disney Productions announced that it was seeking to more than triple its bank line of bank credit to \$1.3 billion from \$400 million, a move analysts said was a classic maneuver to abort a takeover bid.

Obituary. Otto Eckstein, chairman and co-founder of Data Resources Inc., Harvard professor and a leading economic forecaster, died of cancer at the age of 58.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 23, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
AT&T	14,431,300	15 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Gulf	11,089,300	75 1/2	+ 3 1/2
Supr Oil	6,603,300	40 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Disney	5,879,900	63 1/2	+ 7 1/2
IBM	4,891,900	112 1/2	- 1 1/2
GM	4,129,100	85	- 3 1/2
LTV	3,950,800	16 1/2	- 1 1/2
ENSTR	3,729,500	18 1/2	+ 3 1/2
Pfizer	3,701,000	35 1/2	- 3 1/2
A Exp	3,437,900	30 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Habib	3,345,400	41 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Rep St	3,214,100	29 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Ford M	3,050,400	37 1/2	- 2 1/2
Exxon	2,915,900	38	- 1 1/2
Citicorp	2,853,200	34 1/2	- 1 1/2

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	670	1,394
Declines	1,305	579
Total Issues	2,220	2,220
New Highs	42	41
New Lows	156	119

VOLUME (P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	134,932,000	1,574,169,000
Same Per. 1983	216,416,410	5,074,993,990

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last Change
New York Stock Exchange			
Indust	107.1	106.0	-1.67
Transp	87.8	86.8	-0.70
Util	45.0	44.4	-0.71
Finance	88.9	88.7	-0.59
Composite	91.4	89.0	-1.14

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	180.8	176.7	177.1	-3.11
20 Transp	140.8	136.6	137.1	-2.64
40 Util	65.6	64.4	65.0	-0.60
40 Financial	17.3	16.8	17.1	+0.14
500 Stocks	159.2	156.6	156.8	-2.41

Dow Jones

30 Indust	1184.1	1163.0	1154.8	-29.52
20 Transp	521.6	506.3	503.1	-15.02
15 Util	129.6	126.1	126.8	-0.72
65 Comb	464.7	454.9	452.6	-10.81

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 23, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
GLFC	1,005,800	14 1/2	- 1 1/2
Wang	839,000	27 1/2	- 1 1/2
Cyprus	810,100	3 1/2	+ 1 1/2
DorGas	761,900	22 1/2	+ 1 1/2
DomeP	720,000	3 1/16	-3/16
Heizer	590,000	17	...
HouOTR	539,200	8	- 1/2
PeLew	452,800	6 1/2	+ 1 1/2
HornH	390,700	18 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Conqst	372,100	11	+ 1 1/2

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	266	476
Declines	492	269
Total Issues	907	908
New Highs	23	15
New Lows	54	41

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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The Year of the Yuppies

Today's political quiz is literary. Who wrote the following about whom?

There is a revolution coming. . . It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure. . . Its ultimate creation will be a new and enduring wholeness and beauty — a renewed relationship of man to himself, to other men, to society, to nature, and to the land. This is the revolution of the new generation. . . In time, it will include not only youth, but all people in America.

The answer is Charles Reich, whose famous 1970 book, "The Greening of America," celebrated the anti-war generation, the baby-boom generation, the rock music generation, the first television generation, the Age of Aquarius, the idealistic children of the Affluent Society. They were, perhaps more than anything, the New Left, and to many minds, they still are.

Now they're called Yuppies, young urban professionals, and they're rapidly advancing into middle age, but as The Wall Street Journal wrote just last week, "Gary Hart comes out of that political tradition born with Eugene McCarthy's run against L.B.J., continued by George McGovern and John Anderson and kept alive by the left wing of the Democratic Party."

To think of today's Yuppies as politically akin to yesterday's hippies is as to be mistaken now as Charles Reich was then. Their story — which may encompass the story of the 1984 election campaign — deserves a new title. Something like "The Gray-ing of the Greening of America."

This truly is the Year of the Yuppies, the educated, computer-literate, audiophile children of the baby boom. They are part of a huge generation. Nearly 80 million were born between 1946 and 1965 — compared with about 50 million births in the prior 20 years. Beyond numbers, 1984 will be the

year in which all can vote for President. By definition, not all the baby-boomers are yuppies. But the yuppies are numerous — 20 percent of the primary vote in New Hampshire, 10 percent in Illinois. And they possess atypical affluence and influence: These are the people who created the counterculture.

They still listen to rock music, still wear wire-rimmed glasses. Does their politics of the left also endure? Or does turning gray mean, as for other generations, turning right? The answer, to judge from what they tell pollsters, depends on the issue.

As to economics, they tend toward the conservative. Charles Reich may have seen an emerging "Consciousness III," which prizes a sense of community and "a circle of affection." Now, according to Penn and Schoen, the survey research company, yuppies are less concerned about unemployment than other age groups, and more inclined to favor further cuts in Federal spending.

As to social issues, they strongly favor the equal rights amendment and freedom of choice on abortion, and oppose employment discrimination against homosexuals. On social welfare issues, color them conservative, less likely than older traditional Democrats to favor income maintenance programs.

But as to nuclear arms control, they are heatedly liberal. And on military intervention abroad, their view becomes a thunderous no. That doesn't represent a reasoned world view. It's much more a continuing reaction to the horror of Vietnam, a retrospective effort to remain consistent with opposition to draft and danger then.

Depression and Munich and Holocaust burned lifelong scars into the sensibility of people a few years older. Never again, they said, in one way or another. Just so did Vietnam and the arrogant dispatch of American troops abroad sear the boom babies, the yuppies. They have their own never again. It could become a campaign issue in this Year of the Yuppies. They will make it a political reality for a lot longer.

The Resistible Rise of Major Bob

Today's election in El Salvador is dismissed as a fraud by guerrillas who want to boycott or disrupt it. It's not. It may be a gamble, even a foolish one, but the presidential vote is not just a sham. Thousands of democratic party workers are defying cut-throats of the right and the left in a laudable attempt to count votes instead of bodies. Their main champion is a decent and tested Christian Democrat, José Napoleon Duarte, who was robbed of victory in 1972 and whose enemies do him honor.

What makes the elections a gamble is the "culture of terror," as Mr. Duarte calls it, that thrives in El Salvador. An intimidated electorate isn't a free one, especially not when one contending party preaches violence, in brutal words worthy of Capone's Chicago or beer halls in Weimar Germany.

The party is Arena, its candidate Roberto d'Aubuisson. If he wins a majority today or in the runoff likely next month, both El Salvador and the United States will be losers. The Reagan Administration has been able to win votes for aid by portraying El Salvador's civil war as a struggle between leftist darkness and democratic light. If Mr. d'Aubuisson wins, there goes the democratic light.

In the world according to Major Bob, Christian Democrats are Communists. To make the point to illiterate voters, he smashes a dagger into a watermelon to show the color within. He stages mock soccer games in which supposed Christian Democrats peel off green uniforms to bare red garb beneath. As

he amplified in an interview with the Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa:

"The loco Duarte and his party are the political arm of subversion. Christian Democrats and the guerrillas represent two different tactics of Communism. The first one to get into power will call the other, and together they will give the country to the U.S.S.R."

The mentality is familiar. Small wonder the White House skittishly denied him a visa to speak at a Catholic university where his ideas would draw publicity.

But keeping Mr. d'Aubuisson out of Washington is easier than keeping him out of office. Of valid votes cast in El Salvador's 1982 assembly elections, his Arena party won 28 percent, the Christian Democrats, 40 percent. If today's vote shows the same division, Mr. Duarte is in trouble. In a runoff, he would have to turn to the right, since democrats to his left say it isn't safe for them to take part in the vote. And in an authoritarian country whose middle classes fear the left and whose poor are sick of violence, the allure of simple answers favors Arena.

Many Salvadorans understand that a victory for Major Bob would jeopardize future American aid and wreck any chance for a peaceful settlement of a bloody civil war. The more that is understood, the worse for him. The best counter to Mr. d'Aubuisson's demagoguery would be for President Reagan to call it just that, and let Major Bob try to paint the White House red.

Topics

Enterprise, Public and Private

A Political Economist

Many high-powered economists spend their days spinning computer models of dynamic rational expectations and bickering about optimization under conditions of uncertainty — in other words, showing off to their colleagues. Not the best ones. And certainly not Otto Eckstein of Harvard, econometrician, adviser to Presidents and self-made millionaire who died last week at the age of 56.

In the 60's, Mr. Eckstein was one of the dozen liberal Keynesians then advising politicians. After two years on Lyndon Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers, he learned it was easier to lower taxes to increase employment than to raise taxes again to tame inflation.

In recent years he became even better known as a forecaster. His company, Data Resources, made predictions about the American economy from big computer-driven models. Its product, like the man who ran the shop, was always honest, technically sophisticated and free of humbug.

Prisons for Profit

Major corporations, like RCA and Control Data, are showing interest in a new enterprise: managing prisons. According to Across the Board maga-

zine, they would charge states a fee, per inmate, and try to earn a profit.

It's not a new idea. Most state governments in the 18th century contracted out convicts to mines, factories and farms. As in any business, the bottom line was the top priority. Surveying American prisons in 1897, Enoch Wines and Theodore Dwight wrote that "one string is harped upon, ad nauseum — money, money, money."

And Blake McKelvey, in a history of prisons, found that "in the incessant political turmoil, none but financially successful wardens could live through a change in parties."

Many prison systems then earned more than enough to cover expenses, and contractors saved the states additional money by providing cheap prisoner labor for public works.

But there was a problem. As Mr. McKelvey dryly observes: "The struggle to maintain prosperous industries frequently caused the authorities to lose sight of the interests of the prisoners."

Toward the turn of the century, the abuse of inmates had become scandalous. Unions and businessmen who had to compete against the cheap prisoner workers also objected.

Still, law now control the use of convicts in profitable enterprises and the courts stand ready to defend prisoners' living conditions.

Would management of for-profit again result in exploitation? That's the question for state officials tempted to try it out.

Upscale Ice

A few years ago, it was fashionable to drink Perrier water with cubes of frozen Perrier. William F. Baker, the president of Group W Television and an Arctic traveler, wants to broaden the market for exotic ice.

After a recent trip to Greenland, he brought back 120 pounds of glacial ice — desirable, apparently, for its purity and cleanliness — to give to his friends. They were enthralled by the mystique of the 100,000-year-old ice. Now he's importing it to sell for \$7 a bag at Bloomingdale's.

A city that's agog over "Splash," a movie about the adventures of an upscale mermaid in Manhattan, is likely to go for ancient ice. Presumably, Orson Welles will be selling it on television, Governor Cuomo will sell it in supermarkets, and Mayor Koch will bring his own to his favorite cheap restaurants.

But why import only from dull Greenland glaciers? Any day now, expect to see spicier ice from the slopes of Everest, Annapurna, Fuji and Kilimanjaro.

Letters

When a Cable Program Is Unfit for Someone's Home

To the Editor:

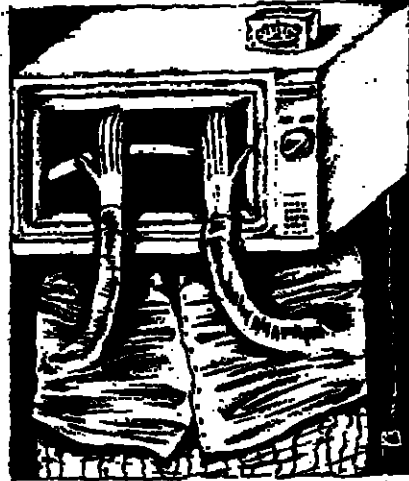
Your March 5 news article about New York State's cable TV lockout law only partially identifies the defects in that law, which requires each cable operator to provide a "lockout box" to any subscriber desiring to limit reception of cable programs deemed offensive in the home. There are four major defects:

• The law requires operators to provide lockout boxes only "to the extent technologically feasible." There is little reason for such qualification since it is now clear, according to a recent study by the Cable Television Information Center, that such devices are readily available. Yet as you observe, some cable operators may use this qualification to avoid compliance with their duty under the lockout law.

• The law does not expressly permit the cable subscriber to use lockout boxes obtained from an independent supplier rather than from the cable operator or its affiliated supplier. This may well confer a new monopoly on terminal equipment upon cable operators. Customer-supplied terminal equipment is now well established as a sound public policy in the telephone industry. It should also be public policy in the cable industry.

• The lockout law permits the cable operator to charge each subscriber as much as 15 percent above the operator's cost for manufacture, purchase and installation of a lockout box. There

is no clear policy reason why the operator should be allowed to make a 15 percent profit on what some cable subscribers regard as essential terminal equipment. This is reminiscent of



a payment to the mob for protection. Moreover, if customers may not use independently supplied lockout boxes, competition will not prevent cable operators from charging the full 15 percent above cost.

• The lockout law fails to mandate that cable operators include public and leased-access programs in their monthly program guides so that subscribers will know when to use the lockout boxes. Cable operators are

now reluctant to do so because they seldom benefit financially from access programming. If a subscriber is unaware of when the 1 to 2 percent of sexually explicit access programming is to be shown, he may simply decide to lock out the access channel altogether, including its many wholesome programs. ROBERT T. PERRY
New York, March 13, 1984

Licensed Pornography

To the Editor:

The law ostensibly passed to protect our children from being assaulted by pornography in their own homes is a disaster. What it actually protects is the sex entrepreneur, in effect granting him license to pipe pornography into New York living rooms as long as there is a lockout box law on the books.

Unfortunately, your March 5 news article on the subject did not examine the many reasons why lockout boxes are, at best, false security.

First, it came out during legislative hearings in Utah two years ago that one key opened all cable claiming technical unfeasibility, one wonders how far we may have progressed since then in the creation and production of sophisticated locking devices.

Second, no locking device is a match for curious children and teenagers, some of whom have already demonstrated their high-tech abilities by tapping into the Defense Department with home computers.

Third, the lockout boxes are too expensive and must be purchased in multiples for complete protection. One device at Group W locks out only two channels; therefore, subscribers must purchase two boxes in order to lock out three.

Fourth, no lockout box will prevent the "bleeding" of so-called scrambled cable signals onto sets where they are exempt from law.

Fifth, parents obviously do not see locking devices as an answer. Group W has had only 25 requests, and Manhattan Cable only 2, out of 268,000 subscribers.

The New York State lockout box law does not solve the problem of gutter programming reaching our children. The solution is for the Legislature to amend the state cable law that prohibits municipalities from regulating cable, and for the Congress to pull cable television under the Federal umbrella beside conventional television, which is prohibited from broadcasting the obscene, indecent and profane. Why must cable be exempt from the law?

MORTON A. HILL, S.J.
President, Morality in the Media
New York, March 14, 1984

TV's Continuing Obligation to Children

To the Editor:

In a March 8 news article, you state that "last fall, the F.C.C. removed its policy statement on children's television from regulations affecting programming, freeing stations from any obligation to broadcast educational programs." This statement is wrong.

Under the 1974 Children's Policy Statement, the Federal Communications Commission made clear that commercial broadcasters had an obligation to provide programs to children and that a reasonable part of this programming should be educational in nature.

While some may wish to characterize our 1983 decision differently, broadcasters continue to have a bedrock obligation to serve the program needs of children. We do permit a station to consider what program services are available in the market in meeting those needs — but meet them they must, or answer to us at renewal time.

Add to this the fact that more programming for children is available than ever before, through a combination of service from new independent

stations, public stations and children's cable services.

Faced with this growth, through an expanding video market in children's programs, the F.C.C. was not convinced that it had to impose a specific program obligation on one sector of that market, namely commercial broadcasters. Bear in mind that the commission similarly refused to impose such a burden in 1974, when the video market was considerably less developed.

Further, you did not mention our concerns about the legality of a mandatory standard under the First Amendment. You have recognized on your editorial page the importance of giving the same First Amendment rights to broadcasters as to print, yet in a story involving direct impingement of those rights, no mention was made of them.

Not to nitpick, but in an area as emotional and complicated as children's TV, it is essential to be as accurate as possible. MARK S. FOWLER
Chairman

Federal Communications Commission
Washington, March 14, 1984

The Contradictions in Private Executions

To the Editor:

Ever since the first state abolished public hangings 150 years ago, the infliction of the death penalty in the quasi-privacy of the prison has become an accepted tenet of penal philosophy. In the light of James Autry's request that his execution in Texas be made public ("Prime Time Death," Topics March 13), perhaps it is time to re-evaluate this policy.

Deterrence, we are told, is the principal end of punishment. If the death penalty has any deterrent effect whatsoever, then shouldn't executions be as public as possible so as to maximize that effect?

If a fear of death prevents crime, then the visual imagery of a televised execution is likely to yield the most terror. A national audience will be afforded the opportunity to watch as the strapped prisoner suffers anxiously until sodium thiopental is slipped into the saline solution. Some hospitals may carp that this will produce irrational fears in patients with I.V.'s, but even so, a reduced crime rate would be worth it.

More important, publicity is supposedly the genius of democratic government. Are we not reminded repeatedly that our institutions are free and public, open to the scrutiny and participation of all? We can watch as Congress debates, observe as trials are conducted and even peek at flickering tapes show influence-peddling and drug-buying. Should we not also be permitted to witness the most solemn ritual of civil authority — the execution of a prisoner?

Since the idea of capital punishment is once again popular and palatable, why not make executions public? And if public executions are reprehensible and private executions vitiate deterrent theory as well as violate democratic assumptions, then why not forget altogether the canard that the death penalty prevents crime and instead take one step closer to becoming a more humane and open society by abolishing capital punishment entirely? LOUIS F. MASUR
Princeton, N.J., March 15, 1984

The writer is a fellow in the humanities at Princeton University.

Veto by News Format

To the Editor:

On March 11, you carried a news account of a speech made by Walter Mondale at Emory University on the previous day. Listeners, you said, found the speech to be impressive, but "the national networks either ignored it or used only a scant portion of it." You went on to explain that, according to network correspondents, "the former Vice President's phrases tend to be too long, making speeches difficult to cut into for the nightly news."

We have all witnessed in this Presidential campaign the extraordinary power the media have acquired to shape the information on which the people most depend to make intelligent choices. When the decision whether or not to give national coverage to a candidate is made on the basis of whether his or her sentences can be conveniently cut up to fit into the format of its "fast-paced" nightly news broadcast, then it is obvious that the media are abusing their power and subverting the capacity of the people to judge the candidates accurately. FREDERICK L. HOLMES
New Haven, March 15, 1984

Of High Court Justices' Activism, Restraint . . .

To the Editor:

Attorney General William French Smith's response [letter March 18] to my Feb. 23 Op-Ed article regarding prospective Supreme Court appointments by President Reagan claims that Mr. Reagan would appoint justices who adhere to the "philosophy of judicial restraint" rather than that of "judicial activism."

It remains mystifying to me why the defense of principles embodied in the Bill of Rights is disparaged as "activism" while opposition to those principles is shrouded in "restraint." Nor does the articulation of these labels do anything to assuage my concern that Mr. Reagan, if re-elected, would seek to appoint to the Court justices who would attempt radical reversals of long-settled constitutional law.

Consider the President's recent observation that things had gone "haywire" when Nazis are allowed to march in the streets but prayer is not permitted in public schools. In one line, Mr. Reagan attacked two well-established doctrines of First Amendment law: the right of unpopular, even despicable, groups to demonstrate under most circumstances, and the right of all children in state schools to

pray or not, as they choose, without the imposition of state sanctions.

In his attack on these and other constitutional principles, the President has taken issue with the Bill of Rights itself. As the Supreme Court observed in a 1943 opinion, "The very purpose of a Bill of Rights was to withdraw certain subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy, to place them beyond the reach of majorities and officials and to establish them as legal principles to be applied by the courts."

If a newly appointed Justice of the Supreme Court were to echo the President's views, he or she would be acting in a manner both "activist" and utterly inconsistent with long-established constitutional principles. That is precisely why the prospect of as many as five new Reagan appointees to the Court is so disquieting.

FLOYD ABRAMS
New York, March 19, 1984

. . . And Made-Up Minds

To the Editor:

I deeply regret the incorrect and possibly illegal premise underlying the dialogue in your columns between William French Smith and Floyd Abrams. Each seems to say that the decision of any judge is to be predetermined before he or she sits on a specific case.

Such premise is contrary to most canons of ethics with which I am familiar. Where any judge finds that he or she has a strong bias or even a minimal conflict of interest in a matter before a court, there exists a strong obligation for full disclosure and self-disqualification. In New York, this is a rule that is honored in the observance rather than the breach. KENNETH L. SHORTER
New York, March 19, 1984

The writer is a New York State Supreme Court justice for New York County.

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New Mideast Strategy

By Joseph J. Sisco

WASHINGTON — The American policy failure in Lebanon and, more recently, a rebuke in Jordan, have punctured our record as mediator in the Middle East. We have suffered a major setback in the short run, but this need not mean irreparable enfeeblement of American diplomacy in the long haul.

The doubts raised by these events are all the more serious because American influence in the Middle East over the past decade has been based primarily on our demonstrated capacity to produce political results. For more than 30 years following the creation of Israel, there was no contact, no negotiation, no recognition between Israel and the Arab states. Then in the 1970's, two Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreements, one between Syria and Israel, and the Camp David accords came about under the aegis of the United States.

Against this background, earlier this month King Hussein of Jordan criticized the United States, charging that our relations with Israel have undermined our role as mediator. The King is a courageous man and a good friend of the United States, and his charge is clearly troubling, but he has overdrawn the situation. The time will come again when he and other Arab leaders will be pressing Washington to re-engage itself in the diplomacy of the area.

There is, in the end, no effective substitute for the indispensable third-party role of the United States in the area — for our diplomatic efforts and the possibility of using our military strength in the event of a threat to the existence of Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, or if the Strait of Hormuz should be closed.

Hussein's comments reflect mainly his frustration with the lack of progress on the West Bank. He can rightly point to a number of American mistakes in recent years. He can also understandably decry Israel's policy of de facto annexation. But, in

Joseph J. Sisco, former career diplomat, was Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 1974 to 1976.

fairness, he ought also to acknowledge his own mistakes in handling the Reagan peace plan.

His decision to hold back — not to come forward a year ago to negotiate with Israel — will go down in history as a monumental lost opportunity. At the time, the Syrians were still reeling from defeat in Lebanon and did not have the effective veto power that they possess today. The Palestine Liberation Organization was weak, both politically and militarily. Palestinian leaders in the West Bank were very interested, and the Russians were preoccupied with their own succession. At the very least, a "yes" by Hussein would have tested America's ability or inability to persuade Israel to re-evaluate its quick rejection of the Reagan plan. Then, as today, the route to any further progress ran through Washington — and King Hussein knows this.

In the short run, no American diplomatic initiative is possible or desirable this year. But if American influence is to be rebuilt, a new coherent strategy has to be ready for 1985.

First, American explorations will have to be pursued quietly and privately through diplomatic channels. There are enough plans around: the proposals put forward at the Arab summit conference in Fes, Morocco, in September 1982; the Reagan plan; various revised versions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. There is no point to elucidating new, formal peace plans and launching them publicly before they get off the ground. Any new diplomatic round must be prepared carefully. Otherwise, Washington should stay out. There has been too much cosmetic diplomatic activity for its own sake.

Second, strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States is a sound idea. It has taken a full American commitment to Israeli security and survival to bring many Arabs to give up their intention of driving Israel into the sea. This commitment, combined with American persuasion, produced what progress we made toward peace in the last decade.

But American-Israeli strategic cooperation needs to be broadened to include both political and military components. For years, America has disagreed with Israel's settlement of the occupied territories and its de facto annexation policy, preferring instead the "territory for peace" formula, which is also favored by the Israeli Labor Party. There are continuing differences in the American and Israeli approaches, and the coming year should be a time of deep questioning and consultation, reminiscent of earlier years.

Third, though we may not like it, we must consider how Syria might ultimately be brought into the diplomatic

process. Most Israelis understand that some kind of realistic reckoning with Syria will be unavoidable in the next few years — and they prefer that it be a peaceful reckoning. The Syrians have maneuvered themselves into a central position, but President Hafez al-Assad both fears and respects Israeli strength. He depends on Soviet assistance, but he is not Moscow's hostage or surrogate. He is also distracted by a domestic power struggle.

Finally, there is the Soviet Union. Whichever administration emerges in November will be apt to renew a serious Soviet-American dialogue, focusing primarily on arms reduction. Informal exchanges regarding the Middle East and the Persian Gulf will also, however, be inevitable to avoid superpower confrontation. In this, it will be crucial to strike some delicate balance between Syria's insistence that the Russians and the P.L.O. be included in a Geneva peace conference and Israel's opposition to their participation. Our success or failure to achieve some such compromise will have a decisive influence on whether the peace process can be renewed in 1985 or whether the area is doomed in time to another regional blood-letting.

\$10 million award; or a \$5 million prize daily and a \$35 million prize each Saturday. There are other possibilities, including a large, year-end jackpot.

The program could be administered by an existing Federal agency or by a new lottery commission. Tickets would be purchased from machines in local stores and would cost a dollar apiece for a week's participation. Winners would be announced weekly on national television. Players would have the opportunity to help out the country economically, become very rich and have fun. It could easily become a national pastime.

A national lottery would draw money away from illegal gambling and reduce funding for organized crime. Some of the dollars now spent in the underground economy would return to the economic mainstream. However, a national lottery would also draw off some revenue from state lotteries, although this could be remedied through revenue sharing or a cooperative Federal-state lottery.

There would be concern that the poor might overindulge in the lottery, spending limited resources that might better be used to purchase necessities. And there are certain to be ethical objections to a national lottery, particularly about the propriety of the Federal Government's being directly involved in gambling.

Yet who else but Uncle Sam could sell us a \$10 million-a-day dream for a buck? Win or lose, the economic benefits would return to all of us.

Cut Deficits By Using A Lottery

By Alfred J. Tella

WASHINGTON — What better, or less painful, way to put a dent in the Federal deficit than to run a national lottery? The revenue potential is considerable: Over a five-year period, net income could easily amount to \$40 billion or \$50 billion. Conceivably, it could be twice as much.

Hardly new, the lottery as a device for raising and distributing money goes back to medieval times, and it is as popular today as ever. Canada operates a national lottery. And one in three states in America runs one, according to the Census Bureau.

Lottery revenues are soaring. A total of \$5.2 billion was wagered in state lotteries last year, up sharply from \$3.8 billion in 1982. Since the states that have lotteries account for only two-fifths of the country's population, potential receipts from national participation are immense.

In states where lotteries have been institutionalized and well-publicized, revenue per capita has topped \$1 a week. On a national scale, such a return would produce weekly gross revenues of more than \$236 million, or \$12.3 billion for 1984. After deducting operating costs — commissions for selling tickets, advertising, cost of capital, servicing of machines and administrative costs — a well-run system should yield annual net revenues of around \$11 billion.

To encourage participation and to maximize revenues, awards could be exempted from Federal income

IGLS, Austria, March 24 — The polls indicate that American voters are concerned about the country's role in the world and that foreign policy is an important issue in the Presidential campaign.

This is reassuring because there is a real need for debate on international relations. That is the way to develop consensus and a clear mandate that can restore some continuity and effectiveness to U.S. policies. But the terms of the debate are crucial.

Obviously, the mandate President Reagan took from the 1980 campaign to "make America proud again" failed to produce workable policy guidelines. The record is one of reversals, deadlocks and a serious increase in international tension.

Despite optimistic mumbles from some U.S. officials, Soviet-American relations, which are central to the whole world's hopes for peace, are very bad. The Russians refused even to participate in a conference here of the International Institute for East-West Security Studies because the subject was arms control.

In Paris this week, Georgi Arbatov, who heads Moscow's U.S.A. Institute, said President Reagan's Administration was the most anti-Soviet and militaristic since relations were established in 1933. Things have never been worse, he told anyone who would listen.

That is an exaggeration. But it contradicts Washington's claim that the Russians have heard Mr. Reagan's new message of "flexibility" and just need a little cooling-off time before resuming negotiations on U.S. terms. Nor do the Russians seem to care whether their diatribes help or hurt Mr. Reagan with American voters. East European officials here are urging the West to take seriously Moscow's insistence that neither a sudden smile from Washington nor the new Soviet leadership will change Soviet policy.

That is not a reason for the U.S. to

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Above The Hustings

By Flora Lewis

react. But it is a reason to consider now the objectives of American policy and what kind of approach can make it more successful in serving American needs. We don't need new ideas or dramatic innovations. They only disconcert adversaries and allies and heighten uncertainty.

The Italian commentator Arrigo Levi spoke for many when he wrote that Europeans are "getting tired of U.S. politicians popping up to say 'I have a vision' and then finding themselves unequipped to govern." Sweep generalities, whether tough and bombastic or meek and messianic, don't help.

For a long time now, the U.S. has had a problem of relating policy and principle. There have been periods of ideology rampant, from Woodrow Wilson through John Foster Dulles to Ronald Reagan, which brought disastrous decisions before the inevitable reversal to reality and the limitations it imposes on American power.

Between, there have been periods of realism, particularly under Henry Kissinger's hand that's quicker than the eye. Those times brought neglect of some basic, long-term American interests, and self-distaste as grubby tricks were revealed.

The pendulum swings too much.

Realistic policy means adjusting goals to means, learning the facts of a world full of lights and shadows and dealing with them, not with a world conjured up by our dreams and fears. Principle means choosing the purposes for which that policy is used, making them fit the society's values, and not secretly flouting decency for power's own sake.

Even dictatorships have to offer a principle for their actions, though it may be a big lie, because a modern state requires the involvement of so many people to enable it to function. Democracies are utterly obliged to convince their people that decisions have a moral direction, because no great enterprise can be undertaken without popular consent.

The debate, then, needs to recognize the requirement for both policy and principle and to identify the ways they fit together. Just as grandiose slogans are delusions, detailed commitments can be a dangerous mistake, like whether, for example, to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem or never to land a soldier in the Persian Gulf. The real world is too unforeseeable to fix future action in a vacuum.

The Soviet problem should be faced as an enduring need to deal with a rival superpower that will not go away and must not be allowed to dominate. Uncertainties magnified by the long hiatus of the campaign could be contained if all the candidates declare themselves prepared for a summit soon after the next inauguration to discuss drawing up an overall agenda for negotiations with Moscow.

This would give the Russians an assurance that there will be a U.S. willingness to talk regardless of who wins, and time to consider their own priorities. It would show that American statesmanship doesn't have to be suspended during the rites of democracy, and that it can rise above the hustings.

WASHINGTON

Prayer and Politics

By James Reston

O, Lord, who knowest the human heart,
[A thousand other things apart];
Whose constant purpose is the good
Of all the human brotherhood —
Look down [accept this humble rhyme],
And guard us in election time.

So said Samuel Hoftenstein in "Poems in Praise of Practically Nothing" back in 1928, and so sayeth I now. This is Fun Week in Washington, when the solemn characters of politics and the press take time out to laugh at themselves and one another.

It's too bad, in a way, that this 99th annual frolic by the Gridiron Club can't be cut and shown on national television, especially in a Presidential election year. The Gridiron show is a ridiculous amateur hour, or spoof of political pretense, but at odd moments it comes closer to the truth than does the front-page news.

One of the mysteries of modern Presidential election politics is why the candidates are always smiling when they have so little to smile about. One of the paradoxes is that they look happy and sound angry. And one of the tragedies in a way is that the people seldom hoot at the difference.

For example, many of the things we are now hearing from the Democrats are false. Is it really true that Fritz Mondale, out of liberal Minnesota, is a man of Old Ideas, and that Gary Hart, out of conservative Colorado, is a man of New Ideas? The main difference between them really is the way they cut their hair.

Fritz looks like those old Arrow-collar ads of the 1940's, with a new hawk nose and not a hair out of place. Senator Hart, on the other hand, who came out of Yale with a bony skull and a Marine toothbrush hairdo, now looks as angular and hairy as Abe Lincoln or Ed Muskie. But on television, it is not the reality but the barbered appearance of reality that counts.

What this country needs, as Adlai Stevenson once said, is a hearing aid, a sense of history and a sense of humor. There is no ironic laughter from the voters at the obvious absurdities of most candidates' speeches these days, except on this one night at the Gridiron dinner.

Here at the head table is the President of the United States and his lady, the Vice President and Mrs. Bush, members of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Cabinet and the White House staff, including Ed

Meese, all laughing that we now have two old Reagan buddies, one running away from the Justice Department and another trying to get in as Attorney General.

Here also are the ambassadors of our allies, our adversaries, and the hungry nations in between, headed by the dean of the Washington diplomatic corps, Anatoly Dobrynin of the Soviet Union, who always smiles, especially when it hurts.

Like his Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, Mr. Dobrynin has out-aries of State in Washington since the last world war, when the United States and the Soviet Union were allies.

One watches him carefully and wonders what he thinks in the night after looking at these comic antics on the Gridiron stage, this irreverent mockery of political power by the press. Does he tell them back at the Kremlin what was said at this capitalistic gathering in Washington, with copies to the editors of Pravda and Izvestia?

You can only guess: Probably he says that even the Washington reporters are laughing at their government. But Mr. Dobrynin is no dummy. He is a dead-serious man. For personal

'Guard us in election time'

reasons he is raising his own granddaughter here with the utmost care, and probably thinking about her life in the next century. But what he really thinks about the present tangle in Soviet-U.S. relations, we will never know.

Even so, this particular weekend in Washington is not unimportant. What the Gridiron dinner does once a year is to puncture pretense, which is the curse of politics. Like Sam Hoftenstein, H. L. Mencken's old buddy, the occasion of the Gridiron reminds us that some of the things we feared the most in the last generation — a Chinese-Soviet connection, a collapse of Europe, America as a helpless giant in defeat — have never happened.

Maybe the Gridiron theme is wrong, but it happens in the spring, and reminds us that we're going around the sun once again, and that probably we should leave a little time for hope and laughter.

A Call to President Mubarak

Give Peace a Chance!

Five years ago—on March 26, 1979—the historic peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was signed on the White House lawn by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin.

Israel made enormous sacrifices in exchange for Egypt's pledge to live in "peace, cooperation and friendship." When Israel left the Sinai, it gave up:

- Strategic depth vital for its defense against any future aggression.
- Oil wells that had made Israel all but self-sufficient in petroleum.
- Eight of the world's most advanced military airfields, plus the strategic naval base at Sharm el-Sheikh.
- Sixteen towns and villages built out of the desert sands.

All this and more Israel did for peace.

How has Egypt lived up to the treaty? After getting back the Sinai, Cairo recalled its ambassador to Israel, resumed anti-Semitic and anti-Israel propaganda in the Egyptian press and joined the unrelenting stream of attacks against Israel at the United Nations. Trade relations, cultural exchange and tourism between the two countries were brought to a virtual standstill. And the President of Egypt publicly embraced the PLO.

Thus did Egypt turn the promise of normal, friendly relations into a cold peace, violating the letter of the treaty and the spirit of Camp David. If this is how the most moderate of Arab states respects its commitments, how can Israel be asked to consider seriously any future treaty with an Arab state?

Widening the Circle

The Egyptian-Israeli treaty was signed by two patriots who vowed to end 30 years of war and establish normal, friendly ties between their countries. Israel has honored its word. Now the world waits for Egypt to fulfill its treaty obligations, so that there may be neighborly relations with Israel—and a pattern set for widening the circle of Arab-Israel peace.

That is why we call on President Mubarak of Egypt: Give peace a chance!

George Rothman Institute of the

Zionist Organization of America

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'Salesman' Sparks a New Debate

By HELEN DUDAR

The original production of Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman" opened Feb. 10, 1949, at the Morosco Theater to rapturous applause. The playwright who, up to then, had experienced one Broadway failure and one sturdy success, was 33, suddenly rich, famous, important and awash in controversy. Dispraise followed hard on approval. If the first wave of reviews almost unanimously welcomed "Salesman" as a major work of the theater, possibly a modern American masterpiece, the second tier of critics from the intellectual journals were at times savagely negative. At best, that audience had seen a sentimental melodrama, perpetrated by a closet Marxist with a crippled sense of language.

Thirty-five years later, as a major new revival reaches Broadway, the debate over the play's merits continues. Some scholars and critics argue passionately that the play is a modern tragedy; others hold that it fails as tragedy when examined in the light of classical Aristotelian dictates. Perhaps more to the theatrical point is the view shared by the play's many admirers, who feel that such arguments tend to obscure the essential value of "Salesman" as a deeply moving drama.

Two professors at the Yale School of Drama, for example, take opposing views. Richard Gilman declares: "The play has minimal satisfactions, it seems to me. I think it is a melodrama, because the whole thing could have been avoided if circumstances had been different. It's the nature of tragedy that it is inevitable. It's contingent on this or that taking place. If Oedipus had simply missed his mother by a half-hour... So the play is not tragic in a real sense unless you're going to debate the meaning of tragedy, which we do all the time."

But according to Prof. Leon Katz, "It doesn't make any difference what you call the play; the fact is it still cuts very deep. It's very powerful and far more subtle than it is given credit for being."

"Death of a Salesman," with Dustin Hoffman as Willy Loman, Kate Reid as his wife, Linda, and John Malkovich as their elder son, Biff, opens Thursday at the Broadhurst after a week of previews and successful runs in Chicago and Washington. Hoffman, who was 11 when the play first came to Broadway, is 46, nine years older than the late Lee J. Cobb was when he made the play his.

"The best Willy" and "the ultimate



Elia Kazan, who directed, with Arthur Miller on the original "Death of a Salesman" set in 1949.

Willy" is the way Mr. Miller memorializes Mr. Cobb in "Salesman in Beijing," a journal, to be published in May, on the 1983 production of the play in China. Pressed on this point, Mr. Miller summons the bland deadpan he uses for questions that don't interest him and says mildly, "Well, I hadn't seen Dustin yet."

For anyone who experienced Cobb in the play, it is hard to believe he was only 37. Willy is 63 but Cobb's Willy, Miller wrote in the Beijing diary, was "born old — with a bottomless kind of wanting for love, admiration, friend-

ship." Cobb was a large, fleshy man with a pipe organ baritone of a voice and when he arrived on Willy's doorstep, shoulders sagging under the weight of the sample cases, he suggested nothing so much as an exhausted, defeated carthorse. In his earliest vision of Willy, Mr. Miller had seen a little man who sorely felt his lack of stature. "I'm fat," he had Cobb say ruefully. For Mr. Hoffman, the line has reverted to the original: "I'm short."

From the classic scholar's point of view, size or rank or position are con-

sequential here. Can you carve a tragic hero out of a speck of humanity, a low man with stunted dreams and a failing sales territory? We are given Willy, a common specimen of the American male as eternal adolescent, on the last day of his life: he is jobless and useless, bewildered over the alienation of a beloved son and unprepared to confront the failure of his fantasies. "He cannot bear reality," Mr. Miller told his Chinese cast last year, "and since he cannot do much to change it, he keeps changing his ideas of it."

Mr. Miller, who wrote the play swiftly in a great burst of creativity, first saw it as a monodrama he called "The Inside of His Head." He later settled on what was at the time an unconventional wedding of realism and expressionism. The early reviews kept referring to Loman's "flashbacks" as if the play were a staged film; in fact, Willy, who is unraveling emotionally, is often simultaneously in the present and the past, remembering a significant yesterday while suffering an unendurable today.

In his final hours, Willy needs to know that his errand son loves him and when he understands this, he is "free" to die, to take a car accident that will provide insurance money as a stake for Biff. "To me," Mr. Miller once wrote in The New York Times, "the tragedy of Willy Loman is that he gave his life or sold it in order to justify the waste of it."

The critics who would quarrel with this view might allow a tragic hero as deluded and as ordinary as Willy Loman, but what they cannot accept as tragedy is the fact that Willy dies without a moment of self-recognition, without acknowledging that his life was indeed a waste.

The final scene is the graveside "Requiem," the only mourners Willy's wife and sons — "the lying Lomans," a critic once called them — and Charley, the neighbor come to eulogize Willy. ("A salesman is got to dream, boy. It comes with the territory.") Audiences nowadays have read the play in school and know how it ends, but during the original run, Mr. Miller recalls, the curtain would descend on a stunned, frozen house.

"There would be dead silence. The audience was utterly unprepared. It was like sitting at a funeral!" — nobody applauds at obsequies — "and they wouldn't leave. They'd get up, walk around, talk to someone and sit down again at a different place. I'd never seen that before and I haven't seen it since." It was, he notes, the kind of response a dramatist can only hope for. "It rarely comes together that way. 'The Crucible' has that

Arts & Leisure

sometimes; it had it when Yves Montand and Simone Signoret played it in Paris."

One of the anomalies of Mr. Miller's career is that his works, especially "Salesman," "Crucible" and "All My Sons," are performed widely and regularly everywhere in the world but in New York, a gap he could be said to promote actively. Except on rare occasions — the 1975 Off Broadway "Salesman" with George C. Scott, last year's "A View From the Bridge" — Mr. Miller is more likely to refuse a revival than agree to one. The critical establishment has not always been kind to him, especially in recent years, and although he insists he is immune to its blows, he sometimes sounds like a man who feels badly mauled. His practice, he said a while back, is "to keep my

drama. There may be no School of Arthur Miller, but Prof. Gerald Weales of the University of Pennsylvania, editor of a widely used study text on "Salesman," points out that both Mr. Miller and Tennessee Williams almost simultaneously "domesticated that odd combination of realism and expressionism with lasting influence. It is so common now that we do not recognize the source. Lanford Wilson goes back and forth from realism to fantasy; David Mamet will do it with the sudden appearance of a nonrealistic character in a realistic setting. Almost all the playwrights I take seriously do it."

The new "Salesman" began to take shape more than two years ago in a Lexington Avenue restaurant where playwright and star sat down to a business lunch with Robert Whitehead, the producer, and Michael Rudman, the director. "Tootsie" was shooting nearby, and Mr. Hoffman came in full drag, a disguise that effectively warded off interruptions from fans.

"It was an enthusiastic lunch," Mr. Whitehead recalls. "But then later it got drowned out in the trials and tribulations of 'Tootsie.' We never discussed it again and I assumed it was lost. A year and a half went by. Dustin surfaced and said, 'Look, I'm still interested.' We got together last spring. Auditions went on — and on — and on." They lasted famously more than four months.

The director of this revival, Mr. Rudman, an American who has worked in England, staged a production of the play in 1979 at the National Theater which Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Miller saw and liked. "Salesman," his first director was Elia Kazan, an alumnus of the Group Theater who was just then beginning a long period when he would spectacularly dominate Broadway's serious theater. A half-lifetime later, Mr. Kazan is now a writer and is saving his memories for his autobiography, but he likes to note emphatically that "It was the only time I've ever known men in the audience to cry."

"Strong men wept" — that was the hallmark of the Kazan and later productions. If they did not cry for themselves, they shed tears for some flawed, victimized familiar — father, brother, friend — replicated by Willy.

Helen Dudar writes frequently about theater.

'Strong men wept,' was the hallmark of the Kazan production.

plays out of New York. The New York reception tends to influence the viability of a play elsewhere for six months or a year. If it's condemned, as it could be with less than a big production, it could hurt a play for a while."

This is a big production built around a big movie star. The play is capitalized at \$850,000, all of it supplied by CBS, which will eventually have a teleplay to show. The first production cost \$65,000 and did not excite a rush of investors. Josh Logan pledged \$1,000, Mr. Miller recalls, but came through with half that sum after reading the play. An early choice for the starring role, Fredric March, who would play Willy as crazy in a film version the author disliked, declined with the excuse that he had a film date. Mr. Miller believes both men were bewildered by the play's time shifts.

The technique was to be his most telling contribution to American

Man as Ape Was the Key To Filming 'Greystoke'

By BAYARD WEBSTER

The camera moves in on a clearing in the forest. Chimpanzees in the trees and on the forest floor are seen grooming each other, playing, fighting and feeding. In the group there is the Alpha male who heads the troop. Near him are the matriarch and an irritable rogue ape along with other chimps. They all know their places in nature's great hierarchy. They demonstrate the different actions and feelings that their roles demand: aggression, submission, courtship, flight, fear and joy.

But the creatures that will seem real to many viewers of "Greystoke: The Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes," opening in New York Friday, are not chimpanzees. They are human gymnasts, acrobats, dancers and actors no more than 5 feet 6 inches tall who were taught and trained for months to act like chimps.

The human chimpanzees, along with a few juvenile real chimpanzees, are featured in the many jungle scenes that take up more than a third of the movie. The movie traces the bizarre upbringing of the Seventh Earl of Greystoke from infancy to maturity in the jungle where he was adopted by a colony of apes, discovered by a Belgian explorer and brought to Scotland to take his place in society in the late 1890's. He was, of course, the legendary Tarzan, immortalized in fiction by the late Edgar Rice Burroughs.

But before the cameras whirled into action, the human chimpanzees had to devote months of time in practicing and rehearsing their roles.

"The main thing was getting them to think like apes," said Roger Fouts, the internationally known primatologist who served as the film's consultant on great ape behavior and coached and rehearsed the actors in their roles as anthropoids. Dr. Fouts has taught the chimp named Washoe some 250 words she uses to communicate with humans in sign language.

"Most movies try to turn apes into little people who do cute, humiliating tricks," said the scientist, who is professor of psychology at Central Washington University in Ellensburg, Wash., where he directs a primate research institute. "But I wanted no part of that."

He learned that the filmmakers, led by the director Hugh Hudson, whose first feature movie was the award-winning "Chariots of Fire," had a different goal in mind. They wanted a film that presented the moral and philosophical issues involved in the question of whether a truly feral child could adapt to human society. The story had to be filmed in the most

realistic environment possible, showing how the dynamics of a complex primate society operate.

Dr. Fouts said he felt this approach provided a rare opportunity for him to depict primates on their own terms. "It was a kind of biological alchemy for me; the reverse of what I had done before: I was now teaching humans how to become apes," he said in an interview.

This involved getting the actors to learn how chimpanzees live. Dr. Fouts noted that while Burroughs did not define the type of ape he was writing about, "their social structure was that of chimps, who are closest to

The movie ponders whether a truly feral child could adapt to a human society.

man on the evolutionary scale. They have the same emotions, the same desires," he added. "They have fights, express affection and, in a closely knit group, know their place on the family tree. So we had to get the actors to think like chimps."

"For example, before picking up a banana on the ground, a real chimp would make a kind of cost analysis in his mind and figure: 'Am I close enough to that banana to pick it up without the Alpha (dominant) male seeing me?' The actor would have to be thinking about such things when the script called for him to get a banana."

The realistic acting by the human chimps was the result of coaching by Dr. Fouts and a choreographer in the West African jungles of Cameroon, in his primate center in Ellensburg and on the outskirts of London, where the equatorial jungle site was reproduced in a huge studio.

"We worked on getting them to express emotions with the specific actions that chimps use," the scientist said. These included the head bobbing and the protracted wrist movements with the fingers pointed toward the ground that were friendly, submissive gestures; the different vocalizations: the various hoots, shrieks and soft cries that indicated a range of emotions from playfulness, fear, alarm, threats, to greeting and begging.

"The film shows the apes as beings, a step away from us on the evolutionary scale," Dr. Fouts said. "They have their own unique personalities, feelings and social structure." Working with Hugh Hudson, the British director, he concentrated on both gestures and communications, including such ape-like characteristics as communal grooming, hugging, kissing and foraging for food. Special care had to be taken in representing the relationship between Tarzan's chimpanzee surrogate mother and her founding son. "With all her maternal instincts, she remains an ape — she's not Stella Dallas," Dr. Fouts said. "We as humans have a psychological or intellectual overlay that inhibits us, but chimps don't have that."

Noting that chimps had longer arms than humans, the primatologist saw to it that the apes' costumes were designed with arms and hands that extended beyond the actors' normal arm length.

How far from reality is the movie's story line, which loosely follows that of the first two Tarzan books? Hugh Hudson, the director, who has extensively observed African wildlife, has read Jane Goodall's studies of chimpanzee behavior along with the works of Darwin and other evolutionists, and has made animal documentaries, is not sure that the plot line of Burroughs's novels is possible in real life. But he talks about its philosophical ramifications.

"Can a human, abandoned as a baby in an animal environment, exist and mature and, through his innate intelligence, become a normal human being? I don't know whether this is feasible or not," Mr. Hudson says. "But the idea is fascinating — Burroughs's main issue is whether a feral child can be adapted to society."

Mr. Hudson cited the many myths and stories of humans that had been reared in the wild with animal help. Among these is the purportedly true story of The Wild Boy of Aveyron, a feral child found in the woods in France in the late 1700's, and reports of the finding of two baby girls who were believed to have lived with wolves in India. Many other tales exist of humans reared in the company of wolves such as Roman mythology's Romulus and Remus and Rudyard Kipling's Mowgli. And the god Zeus in Greek mythology was suckled by a goat.

The director says that the film is about Tarzan's voyage of self-discovery in which he eventually realizes he cannot adapt to civilized life as the Earl of Greystoke and returns to the jungle. "It's about the ape beneath the man, and the man beneath the ape," Mr. Hudson said. "To me it's a grand tragedy."

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PEACE CAN MEAN many things, but first and foremost it means "no war." Or, in the words of Anwar Sadat when he came to Jerusalem in November 1977, "No more war between our two countries."

There has been formal peace between Israel and Egypt for exactly five years today; but there has been no shooting war between them for 10 years, since the end of the Yom Kippur War, the biggest, most brutal of the four major military confrontations between the two countries.

In assessing five years of peace with Egypt, the most vexing question still confronting Israel is the reversibility of the peace to the former state of protracted hostility, punctuated periodically by hot war.

If Sadat, an enlightened military ruler of an authoritarian political system, could make peace with the "arch-devil" Israel literally overnight after 30 years of hostility and four major wars, couldn't some future Egyptian ruler reverse it just as easily?

Any attempt to answer this question — a life-and-death one for Israel — would have to address two separate sets of factors: Egypt's military capability and its political intentions.

The shattering of Egypt's military capability in the second half of the Yom Kippur War is the main explanation for the 10 years of "no war" that ensued. The average Egyptian has still not been permitted to know the depths of his country's defeat in that war.

But Egypt's military and political leaders are fully aware of how deeply the Israel Defence Forces penetrated into the Egyptian heartland, how close to total annihilation two of Egypt's army formations had been, and what a threat that situation had constituted to the ruling regime.

The Egyptian army has still not recovered from that blow. It is being rebuilt, but the very manner of its rebuilding constitutes another problem. The entire transformation of Egypt's geopolitical orientation over the past 10 years has also meant that its army is now receiving American equipment and its battle order and training is following American models.

This will result in a much more technologically sophisticated military than the one based on Soviet arms and battle order which began with the Soviet penetration into Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1955. But the need to re-equip and retrain has extended the rebuilding period even beyond what would have been required to recover from the battering of the Yom Kippur War.

A two-year-old but neutral and reliable source, *Aviation Week* of December 14, 1981, summarized the tentative weapons supply plan for Egypt formulated by the U.S. State and Defence Departments:

- 40 additional F-16 fighters (delivered in 1986-88) in addition to the 40 already on order, with initial deliveries to begin in March, 1982;
- 8 more batteries of improved Hawk air defence missiles, with 4-5 more batteries to come in the second 5-year increment (bringing the total to 24);
- Initial procurement of 24 Bell Helicopters Textron Cobra gunships

armed with the improved wire-guided TOW anti-tank missile system.

- Hughes Aircraft TOW launchers and an additional inventory of improved TOW missiles. Egypt has already ordered 200 TOW ground launchers and 4000 TOW missiles, with 2500 of them Improved TOW missiles;
- 20 Lockheed C-130 transport aircraft added to the existing 18 C-130s. Egypt has also purchased 3 more C-130s, and has an option on 6 more;
- Additional 400-600 M 60A3 tanks to the 439 already delivered. The M 60A3 is equipped with a laser-range finder and electronic computer which provides its 105mm gun greatly increased accuracy. Also built into the tank are night sight and improved technology;
- 500 M 113 armoured personnel carriers to add to the 1214 already procured, including mortar firing vehicles and cranes;
- 4 Grumman E-2C early warning aircraft, with one aircraft supplied the first year (1984), two the next year and the fourth in the third year.

The February 1, 1982, edition of



An Egyptian lieutenant-colonel looks on while a newly arrived American-made F-16 gets painted with Egyptian Air Force markings. (UPI)

Reorientation in Cairo

On the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, Yosef Goell considers whether the peace could be reversed.

armed with the improved wire-guided TOW anti-tank missile system.

- Hughes Aircraft TOW launchers and an additional inventory of improved TOW missiles. Egypt has already ordered 200 TOW ground launchers and 4000 TOW missiles, with 2500 of them Improved TOW missiles;
- 20 Lockheed C-130 transport aircraft added to the existing 18 C-130s. Egypt has also purchased 3 more C-130s, and has an option on 6 more;
- Additional 400-600 M 60A3 tanks to the 439 already delivered. The M 60A3 is equipped with a laser-range finder and electronic computer which provides its 105mm gun greatly increased accuracy. Also built into the tank are night sight and improved technology;
- 500 M 113 armoured personnel carriers to add to the 1214 already procured, including mortar firing vehicles and cranes;
- 4 Grumman E-2C early warning aircraft, with one aircraft supplied the first year (1984), two the next year and the fourth in the third year.

The February 1, 1982, edition of

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Aviation Week reports that "Egypt's force of operational aircraft is expected to include through the mid-1980s the following: some 60 French model Mirage 3s and 5s, 60 Soviet-made Sukhoi Su-7s along with 19 Su-20s, 35 U.S.-made F-4Es, 90 MiG-19s and Chinese-made F-6s, 100 MiG-21s, 40 F-16s and 20 Mirage 2000s delivered over the next three years, with the possibility of another 40 being procured."

American military aid also calls for coproduction projects in which the U.S., while keeping the most secret techniques under wraps, would give Egyptian industries experience in manufacturing modern fighter planes.

Another aspect of U.S.-Egypt military cooperation has been, according to the January 11, 1982, issue of *Aviation Week*, the modernization by the U.S. of many items of Egypt's Soviet weaponry, especially Soviet-built surface-to-air missile systems.

The U.S. is not alone. Following the legitimization conferred on the Egyptian military effort by the signing of the peace treaty with Israel,

many western countries like France, Italy, Britain, West Germany, Spain, Canada, Austria and Holland lined up to become major weapons suppliers to the Egyptian army.

Countries like Yugoslavia, Rumania and China have also lined up. The Lebanese weekly *Al Watan al-Arabi* reported on December 31, 1982, that "China is gradually becoming Egypt's third largest arms supplier, following the U.S. and France."

What this rearmament drive means in economic terms was summed up by *Aviation Week* on December 14, 1981: "To completely rearm its military forces with Western equipment, Egypt must spend \$27-32b. over the next eight years."

In its February 1, 1982, issue the weekly added that by 1981, the total U.S. foreign military sales credits — which Egypt must repay in full — were \$3.5b.

"Egypt is, however, already committed to \$4b. in U.S. military sales orders, and the total funding required over the next 10 years for modernizing its military forces is approximately \$10 billion from the U.S. alone."

THERE IS a double and cruel irony in these massive figures. First, this mountain of modern sophisticated weaponry is being supplied to Egypt in the wake of what is so blithely called "the peace process." Secondly, the massive financial outlay for arms is being made by one of the poorest countries in the world, one whose burgeoning population is threatened with a further descent into greater poverty if heroic measures are not taken to turn the economy around.

There is no question that this massive rearmament programme will result, if not in a quantitatively bigger army, then in a much more sophisticated one than the IDF met in Sinai in 1973.

Israeli and American sources with whom I spoke in Israel and Egypt agree that the target date for the completion of the rearming and modernization of the Egyptian armed forces with western and primarily American arms is 1987-88, three years hence.

Regarding the reversibility of Egypt's declared commitment to "no more war" with Israel, a commitment that has been reiterated by Sadat's successor, President Hosni Mubarak, all these sources agree that the likelihood of another war between Israel and Egypt before that date is infinitesimally small.

Elishe Ben-Elissar, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee and Israel's first ambassador to Egypt, says: "There have been no signs to date that Egypt has any intention of returning to the path of war with Israel — although, in all truth, I must add that I do not know what the morrow or next year will bring. In the past a dynamic of war characterized Egypt's relations with Israel. Since 1977 the dynamic has been in the opposite direction."

"We know that Egypt is building up a large modern army equipped with sophisticated American, French and other western weapons systems. We understand that a great nation needs a modern army. But

relationship with Jordan. One intense-looking young man called Baruch talked about terrorism, and a petrol bomb that, he said, was thrown at the No. 38 bus, which reaches Einav from Netanya. (The bomb was thrown at the bus in Anabta, the only neighbouring place not invited to the meeting. "They're really bad there," one settler said.)

There were a few frowns and whispers when some of these questions were raised. They seemed too loaded for the atmosphere. There was a brief silence after the first of these questions were asked, and it was Mansour who got up with a sort of smiling shrug to answer them.

The village leagues, he said, are against terrorism, are for peaceful coexistence and desire to preserve "deep" contacts with Jordan. As he was talking, a young woman soldier in uniform (with torn pants) who came with the deputy governor, nodded in a bored fashion. After the first "heavy" questions were dispatched without causing too much embarrassment, things started to flow. One mukhtar even answered one of the Jews' questions indirectly, saying there would be less of a leadership problem if the Israelis were to allow reunification of families, which would allow many talented people to return to the West Bank. Several of the Palestinians, interviewed privately, also said this was one of their main concerns.

All of these questions took quite a long time since everything was translated into Hebrew and Arabic with the deputy governor helping with translation and procedure.

Finally at some imperceptible signal, the meeting ended. The Arabs got up and left with impassive faces. For one Jew at least the meeting seemed to have made an impact. Just before he went off to prayers in Einav's synagogue, Yoel Livne said: "I just couldn't get over the fact that I was sitting next to these guys and just talking to them."

we also know that it doesn't need such a large modern army against a potential threat like Libya, and certainly not against Sudan. A look at Egypt's other borders leaves only Israel as a potential target for that army.

"It's true this means we must keep our eyes peeled. But I don't live with the feeling that the formal state of peace between us could change overnight."

Another Israeli source assessed the battle capability of the rebuilt Egyptian army by 1987 thus: "They will not have the capability to take on and defeat the Israeli army even then. But they may very well think they have."

An American source, who understandably prefers to remain unidentified, put it more bluntly: "In a country where only 17 per cent of the primary school children go on to secondary school and where the vast majority of the population are functional illiterates, there are very serious problems in making such a sophisticated military machine work."

"U.S. officers working with the Egyptian military believe the Egyptians will never be able to operate that equipment properly."

Another American source notes that reversibility is "the ultimate question" U.S. officials in Cairo are trying to feel out. "What we come up with is that, with the exception of a lunatic fringe, no one in Egypt is speaking of going to war against Israel again."

"Admittedly, Israel's military planners have to prepare for a worst-case contingency for the long run. But another Egyptian-Israeli war is very unlikely."

One problem understood by both Israeli and American observers is the dynamic of military buildup in a system that is basically a military government — albeit a partial and relatively benign one — and the need to keep the majors and colonels happy. An American source told me the following story:

"American officials brought up the issue of Egypt's recent purchase of Rumanian tanks 'that aren't worth a damn.' In reply to the American query as to why they were playing with the Communist bloc, the Egyptian generals admitted that they knew the Rumanian tanks were worthless. 'But our young officers are kept happy with those tanks so we thought it impor-

tant to buy them.'"

Speaking of the risks undertaken by Israel in the peace agreement, Israeli officials often cite the 150km. separation between the two armies established under the demilitarization agreement on Sinai as an insurance policy. The Americans place great store in the efficacy of the Multi-National Force (set up when the UN refused to send its own forces to police the separation of forces in Sinai and its demilitarization). They believe that it will prove much more effective, even in a crunch, than the UN forces which folded under Nasser's threats on the eve of the Six Day War 17 years ago.

SO MUCH FOR capability; what about intentions?

The 30 years of intense Egyptian hostility to Israel which preceded the Sadat initiative and the peace treaty was an expression of Egypt's pre-eminent role in the uniformly hostile Arab world. Egyptian hostility rose to a peak during the 18 years of Nasser's leadership, which was based on the twin assumptions of Egypt's paramountcy in the Arab world and Nasser's personal leadership of that world.

When Sadat unveiled his peace initiative with Israel in November 1977, he was ready to risk Egypt's temporary estrangement from the Arab world. He expected that the other Arabs — or at least most of them — would sooner or later follow his lead.

This is not what happened. On the contrary Egypt was ostracized from the Arab League, and nearly all the Arab countries broke their diplomatic ties with it. Sadat personally became a target of universal Arab vituperation.

Today, Egypt under Mubarak is being slowly welcomed back into the embrace of its Arab sister states, and it is not returning on condition that it abrogate the peace so abhorrent to the other Arabs.

But neither are the other Arab states following in Egypt's footsteps, and all the talk of a peace "process" is misleading. The "moderate" American-oriented Arab world readmitting Egypt into its fold is tolerating its peace with Israel as an aberration, no more.

In assessing Egyptian intentions it is essential to understand that Sadat's peace initiative was not motivated by the goal of reconcilia-

tion and peace with Israel, but by that of Egypt's reorientation in relations with the United States.

Peace with Israel was the price that the pragmatist Sadat had to swallow. It was the unavoidable payment for acceptance by the U.S. as a client state for the purpose of Egypt's military and economic reconstruction.

Ben-Elissar puts it more diplomatically: "The U.S. connection assumed paramount importance in Sadat's eyes. He came to believe it was essential to the solution of Egypt's myriad internal problems. The Soviet Union simply couldn't match the U.S. on that."

"But in order to attain that goal, Sadat had to come to the conclusion that, as a basic strategy, the reconstruction of Egypt had priority over war."

The question of the reversibility of the peace thus cannot be conceived in black and white terms. It is rather a matter of carefully weighing the evidence on capability and intentions and assessing it, not in terms of yes or no, but in terms of probabilities.

What can be said is that as long as Egypt's ruling establishments retain their orientation on the U.S. and the West, the probability of reversibility and a new war between Egypt and Israel can be considered as low.

Conversely, the profounder dimensions of Egypt's return to the Arab world become, and the more that world becomes dominated by fundamentalist Moslem radicalism, the greater will be the probability of a reversal of the peace.

A worrisome additional factor is the recent Egyptian flirtation with the Soviet Union, exemplified by such demonstrative acts as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali's recent tour of East European Communist capitals, to underline the contention of "Egypt's basic non-alignment."

In conclusion, five years of formal peace have not been sufficient to alleviate Israel's deep and understandable concern over the possibility of a reversion to the old condition of belligerence and war.

In five years, Egypt's intentions have been put to the acid test by Israel's entry into Lebanon. The peace has weathered that test, although one should always remember that the Egyptian army has not as yet restored its capability.

(This is the third in a series of articles.)

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THE ATMOSPHERE was good — there were jokes, laughter and some real conversation. Yet it was clear that both sides in this meeting between settlers and members of village leagues from the area had come to the West Bank settlement of Einav to talk about entirely different things.

In a packed room lined with tables arranged with flowers, soft drinks and pretzels, the mukhtars of 10 villages surrounding Einav, got up, said their names, the names of their villages and how they earn their living (farming or working in Israel). They then invariably added "we lack electricity" or "running water" or "a paved road," and their eyes were directed to two people on the podium.

These two people were Tahsein Mansour, head of the village leagues in Tulikarm, and a short, broad balding man in a grey sweatshirt and tight bluejeans. Before the meeting started, this man, who seemed to know everybody, refused to identify himself. It later transpired that he was the deputy governor of Tulikarm. When one mukhtar raised the subject of electricity a second time he was pushed, and the deputy governor said, "We'll discuss that over a cup of coffee in my office."

Tahsein Mansour made an opening statement that sounded like an

election speech. But the speech was directed to the Palestinian mukhtars, rather than to the Jews who hosted this get-together. A big portly man, with a round face, he was once a judge in Nablus. He said that this year he has the budget to link 12 villages to running water, 11 to the electricity grid and can also pave 40 kilometres of roads. He said there are 88 villages identified with the village leagues in his area.

Smiling, with his hands hitched in his belt, Mansour looked like a politician engaged in a hard-sell talk to friendly but still rather suspicious voters. Mansour has run into a good deal of internal opposition inside the village leagues for taking part in these meetings which many league leaders say are unjustified friendliness with people who stole villagers' land.

On the Jewish side there was less politics and more wariness. Before the meeting started, Zecharia Rahamim, a member of Einav's secretariat, said the goal of these meetings was to achieve a "correct" relationship with the villages surrounding their settlement. "We don't want to be too close," he and Arik Eldar said. Eldar was introduced to the Arabs as Einav's "mukhtar." "We are religious, and there's too much assimilation in the Jewish world anyway," Rahamim

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Peace at five

MOST of the political events which contemporary commentators elevate by calling them "historical" turn out, in retrospect, not to deserve that appellation. The peace treaty between Israel and Egypt signed five years ago today is one of the outstanding exceptions to this rule, even if the peace has not, so far, become what either party to it expected and hoped for.

Egypt, under the leadership of Anwar Sadat, hoped to remain the pacemaker in shaping the course of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Conscious of the political — indeed, the historical — weight of the decision to accord Israel legitimacy, to abandon the effort to subdue the Zionist state by force or to compel it to yield to Arab demands, Sadat embarked upon a course of attaining his goals by diplomatic means.

Recognition of Israel, not only *de facto*, but *de jure*: acceptance not only of its existence as a fact, but of its right to exist, was the necessary corollary. That recognition was what Sadat called the breaking down of the psychological barriers between the countries, which he initiated by his visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 and concluded with the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty signed five years ago.

It is this recognition, this acceptance of Israel's legitimacy, which gives lasting historical significance to the tripartite handshake between Sadat, Menachem Begin and Jimmy Carter five years ago on the lawn of the White House.

This recognition — a goal for which Israel struggled for more than three decades — remains irreversible, and unaffected by the disappointment of Egypt and Israel that the peace momentum has ground down.

Under the leadership of Mr. Begin, Israel hoped to nudge Egypt into a separate peace, into neutralizing the leading Arab nation militarily and politically in exchange for the return of Sinai and the economic advantages of non-belligerency and access to American aid. The hope was that other Arab countries would in time follow Egypt's lead and abandon the vain attempt to destroy Israel by force, leaving diplomacy as the only course — and that such a process could evolve without Israel's yielding on the problem of the Palestinians.

The disappointment and frustration with the present state of the peace in both Cairo and Jerusalem reflects the fact that neither side sufficiently understood the goals, motivations and constraints of the other. The late Sadat, acting on the assumption that Begin was a strong leader and that a strong leader can be made to yield what a weaker government cannot, misunderstood Begin's ideological commitments and political constraints. Begin, assuming that Sadat was tired of bleeding Egypt for the sake of the Palestinians, believed that Egypt would *de facto* settle for a separate peace and abandon its leading role in the Arab world.

Of the three architects of the peace between Israel and Egypt, one is dead, the other has become a recluse, and the third is off the political stage. The peace process, such as it is, is now in the hands of others. Basic interests and short-term political considerations will no longer be swept aside by the historic vision of the leaders who made the initial breakthrough.

There is, however, an asymmetry in the genuine long-term interests of the two countries that should shape the peace between them. Egypt accuses Israel of double-dealing, of circumventing the Camp David accords and the peace treaty with regard to the Palestinian problem. But Egypt is certainly aware that on these issues Israel is deeply divided. If Egypt has opted for diplomacy, it should realize that refusal to normalize the peace is wholly ineffective as an instrument of pressure on Israel. The contrary would achieve more. Equally, the freezing of the peace is not likely to help Egypt back into its role of leadership among the Arab countries.

As for Israel, it seems that the historic significance of its recognition by the leading Arab nation is not always sufficiently acknowledged. The same holds true with regard to the fact that a decade has passed since the last shot was fired in anger on our southern border. Instead, all too often all too many note the price paid for this peace — the price of returning Sinai and the oilfields, the price of our military redeployment, and the like. What is forgotten is that before we paid that price, we paid with human lives in war after war just to achieve what even this cold peace has given us — recognition and security.

Moreover, Israel must recognize that Egypt, even if temporarily not the leader of the Arab countries, remains the chief claimant to that role. Its place in the history of the Arab national movement, its size, geopolitical location, and military power make that claim a constant. Egypt cannot maintain that claim and step out of its involvement in the Palestinian problem. Any attempt to keep the peace with Egypt separate must fail on that count.

When this is understood here, and when Egypt understands that a cold peace is the opposite of wisdom, the hopes ignited five years ago will obtain more tangible fulfillment.

Lilliputian pressure

By SRAYA SHAPIRO

POOR Ezer Weizman. He has learned nothing of the democratic process (Knesset style) despite his years in the cabinet, and he has forgotten nothing of the glorious years he spent in the armed forces. In announcing the other day his intention to run in the elections, he intimated that his list would comprise first-rate technocrats, people who can do things. The palavers of the professional parliamentarians make him sick.

But parliament is the place where people make speeches. It is the government that is supposed to do things, to rule. The parliamentarians (British style) watch over the government, castigate its actions if they are in the opposition, support it with their votes if they happen to belong to the ruling party. No government may act without parliamentary approval; the backbenchers perform a great duty to the country just by assuring the executive's ability to perform.

Things are different in the army. Basic training produces among the soldiers uniformity of reaction, and the commanding officer may count

on his orders being obeyed. The grammar of parliamentary behaviour is individualistic. Only a few people have managed to combine successfully political string-pulling and positive action. Ben-Gurion was a master of both; but his younger aides, the Dayans and the Pereses, who performed wonders when the father figure protected them from the political busybodies, fared less creditably when left to fly on their own political wings.

It takes a lifetime to learn to play effectively the intricate political game. It is at times a squalid game; straightforward people are not likely to appreciate it; but that's democracy, and the alternative is much worse.

WITH LUCK, Weizman can hope to bring three or four of his comrades at most into the 11th Knesset. He may be the sole member of the group to join the cabinet, that is, to take an executive position — the rest will have to squirm uneasily in the Knesset committees, raging over their failure to control the partisan pressure of midget groups. For a non-politician, the Knesset (no

doubt like most parliaments) is a frustrating experience.

Draining the parliamentary quagmire entails not its abolition (as soldiers often think) but the elimination of small pressure groups called parties. A practical, and honourable, way of achieving this to a satisfactory degree is to change the voting system. Proportional representation has always led to the disintegration of the system — remember Weimar.

Shimon Peres's noble appeal to the electorate to choose between the two big political blocs only, is useless so long as two dozen or more "parties" may compete at the polls. He is himself partly to blame for yielding to his restive partner, Mapam, in shelving the electoral reform which his party endorsed — other culprits on that score are former prime minister Menachem Begin and NRP leader Dr. Yosef Burg.

However, there's no use crying over split milk. We will only have a chance of electing a Knesset that can work if the contending parties form electoral blocs before the elec-

Dry Bones



It may not be as effective as natural groupings formed by regional elections, but it would be better than the devastating lists of

Lilliputian pressure groups claiming ideological individualism. The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post's editorial staff.

Presidential proposal

By PAUL EIDELBERG

to that of the U.S. The proposal is ironic: the American Constitution is closer to the biblical, or Jewish, heritage than Israel's present political system! What is the American president but an elected monarch? (He was in fact so-called in the time of Washington.) What is the American Supreme Court, with its power of judicial review, but a reflection of the Great Sanhedrin?

In any event, most Israelis would be favourably disposed towards a presidential system of government, especially now with the decline of the minor parties or their absorption into the Likud and Labour coalitions. Such a system could and should be implemented without resorting to a constitutional convention.

This knotty but not intractable problem aside, the most important and controversial aspect of presidential government is the mode of nomination. Before addressing this problem, one may dispose of less difficult elements of the system. First, the president should be elected separately in a national election. He should be the direct choice of the people, not of a party. Second, he should have a fixed four-year term of office to coincide with a fixed four-year term for the Knesset. He should be eligible for reelection in order to attract men of vision

and facilitate the formulation and execution of comprehensive and long-range public policies.

The president would appoint, with the advice and consent of the Knesset, the members of the cabinet.

He would of course propose legislation to the Knesset (as the government now does), while the Knesset would continue to exercise its present law-making powers. Laws passed by the Knesset would be subject to a presidential veto, which could be overcome by a 60 per cent parliamentary vote. (The presidential veto power would discourage hasty legislation on the one hand, and promote greater consistency in public policy on the other.) In the event of jurisdictional disputes between the president and the Knesset, these would be referred to the Supreme Court, whose membership should be enlarged.

Here it should be emphasized that the inter-party bargaining and agreements that go into the formation of majority coalitions would not change, and should not, given the distinctive character of Israel's pluralistic society.

LET US now consider the most important and controversial aspect of a presidential system, the mode of nomination. (I deliberately avoid

details so as not to encumber intelligent debate on essentials.)

Without any change in the system of proportional representation in the Knesset, let each party having a prescribed minimum number of parliamentary seats nominate a candidate for the presidency some time prior to the scheduled quadrennial elections. The names of the candidates would be placed on a national ballot. If any candidate should receive a majority of the votes cast by the electorate, he of course would be president. If no one receives a majority, the two candidates having the largest number of votes would compete in a run-off election.

The president-elect would nominate a vice-president from, and with the consent of, the newly elected coalition majority in the Knesset. (The vice-president could be the Knesset chairman.)

Before continuing, let us anticipate objections or difficulties (so far as space permits). Because his election would not depend on heading a party list, the president theoretically could be a member either of a minor party within the majority coalition, or even of an opposition party. Both possibilities are extremely unlikely. Nevertheless, that a member of a minor party could become president of Israel by means of democratic elections opens the door still wider to wisdom and virtue.

A governing coalition within the Knesset would almost certainly form around the president in view of his appointment and veto powers. This would further diminish the possibility of the American phenomenon whereby one political party may control the executive branch of the government, while another controls the legislature — a

not altogether bad arrangement by the way, at least in America.

If various parties should combine for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency, the proposed system would not be materially affected. Run-off elections would be less frequent, and perhaps the formation of a coalition majority in each new Knesset would be easier.

It should be made explicit that quadrennial elections would be held, precluding the president from dissolving the Knesset and, conversely, the Knesset from overturning the government by a vote of no confidence. The salutary consequences of such an arrangement are manifest. The government could act with less distraction, hence with greater energy and systems so vitally important for a country like Israel, confronted as it is by hostile neighbours. Secondly, the fixity of terms would make it more difficult for foreign powers to interfere in Israeli politics, that is, to play the game of *divide et impera*. Opposition parties would tend to behave more responsibly both at home and abroad, and Knesset debate would be less acrimonious only because the president would no longer be a member of that body. His dignity and that of his office would thus be enhanced. All this would elevate the level of politics as well as the level of civic virtue in society at large.

The above proposal, which is also offered for heuristic purposes, would promote cabinet solidarity and responsibility on the one hand, and competence and civility on the other. Such a cabinet could more readily formulate and carry out comprehensive and coherent programmes of national significance. Moreover, such a cabinet, working under presidential leadership, would diminish dangerous divisions in the country, divisions exploited by Israeli enemies, while undermining the confidence of Israel's friends.

The writer is a professor of political science at Bar-Ilan University.

READERS' LETTERS

THE PERILS OF SMOKING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I commend your article on the dangers of smoking in Today of March 4.

The interpretation of Epstein and Tamir of the Technion regarding the correlation of smoking and school dropouts is misleading. While the correlation exists, there are undoubtedly other factors which cause the school dropout, which are associated with smoking: academic pressure for example and attempts to reduce resulting tension by smoking. That smoking itself is a cause of school dropout is questionable.

My work brings me in frequent contact with children with serious academic problems associated with failure in normal development. Many such children who have serious emotional, social and vocational problems, are a constant source of worry to their parents not only in terms of daily life of the child and the effect on the entire family, but for that time when the parents will no longer be there to support them.

A woman who wilfully risks such tragedy by smoking during pregnancy indicates that her priority is not the health of her unborn child. There are other safeguards for pregnant women and all obstetricians should aggressively provide such information to all their pregnant patients and not leave such information to be gained by happenstance alone.

We in special education would like to reduce the number of children we work with. Pregnant women can help.

S. DESHEH, Ed. D.

Jerusalem.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF DEAF CHILDREN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — After reading your article of March 12, "More money needed for deaf teenagers," I feel it is essential to state a few facts for the peace of mind of parents of deaf children and educators of the deaf, regarding skills and reading comprehension of deaf children in Israel. I make these comments on the basis of more than 20 years' experience as teacher and education director of Michal, Tel Aviv.

We have today in Israel young deaf adults serving in the Israel Defence Forces; students attending or who have completed higher education programmes; deaf students who have completed all or almost all matriculation examinations; deaf students who attend normal high schools in various trends; deaf boys and girls who attend regular elementary classes and many who attend classes in special units in regular schools.

The majority of deaf children at age seven (the age they enter first grade to compensate somewhat for the first year of their lives when they were completely cut off from the hearing world) enter integrated programmes as described above. Most of them, by the time they enter first grade are reading or have acquired at least basic reading skills. Many of these deaf youngsters are often described as "hard of hearing" because of their ability to communicate well through

speech. This is a compliment to these deaf children, their parents and to the magnificent head-start pre-school programme of Michal for deaf children and their parents.

There is, however, a hard core of deaf youngsters who cannot, for various reasons, learn to communicate orally, and have various learning problems, just as there are hearing youngsters who, for various reasons, have learning problems.

The education of deaf children is indeed very expensive. Volunteer organizations and the Ministry of Education provide many special services, but much more is needed. We hope the recent drive in support of volunteer organizations helping the deaf was successful and that more can be done for those children who need more intensive help and more supportive help in regular schools.

Finally, since most deaf children do read, we again urgently plead with the TV to provide more subtitles to news broadcasts and for children's programmes. The deaf cannot enjoy radio at all. They adore TV but without subtitles, it is very difficult for them, and often impossible. With goodwill and a little more effort, more subtitles could make the deaf of all ages so much happier and better informed.

ETHEL COHEN

Herzliya.

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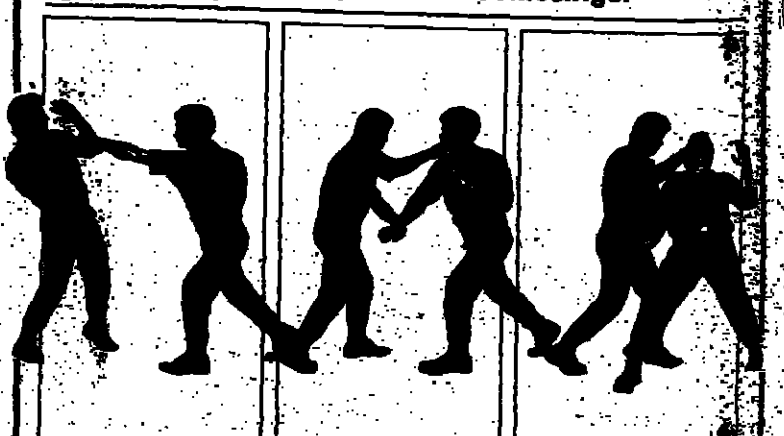


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POSTSCRIPTS

PS MOUNTAIN SICKNESS. A bout of nausea and headache that afflicts mountain climbers and others who travel to high altitudes, may be prevented by a common steroid drug, according to a recent study.

Doctors found that men were able to avoid the illness if they were given the drug Dexamethasone a day before they were exposed to simulated heights in a chamber with low air pressure.

The chamber mimics the effects

of being at 4,575 metres and ordinarily makes people sick about three-quarters of the time.

However, the researchers urged that use of their findings for travelers "should be made very cautiously" and they suggested further study to make sure the treatment works at genuine high altitudes.

The study, directed by Dr. T. Scott Johnson of Beth Israel Hospital in Boston, was published recently in *The New England Journal of Medicine*.

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